

*Jolmay*

Notebook for the XXVIIth

# Maya Hieroglyphic Forum at Texas

March, 2003

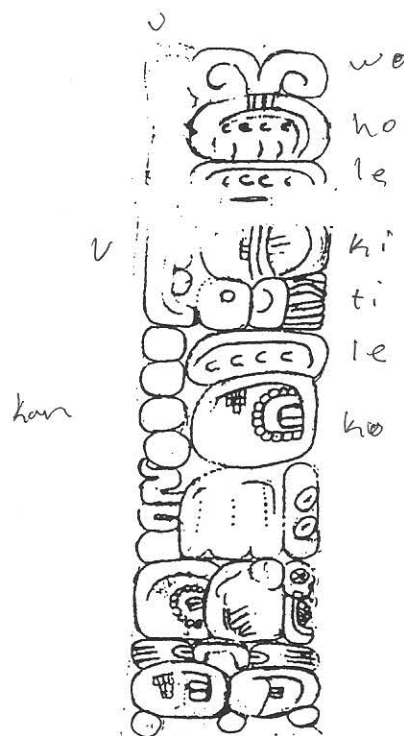


THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

This Maya Hieroglyphic Forum  
And the 2003 Maya Meetings at Texas  
Are dedicated to our dear friend  
Florentino Ajapaca Tum,  
K'ichee' linguist and author,  
Village elder and spokesperson,  
Attendant of many hieroglyphic workshops in Guatemala  
and Texas  
Who was taken from us at the age of 67  
This past year

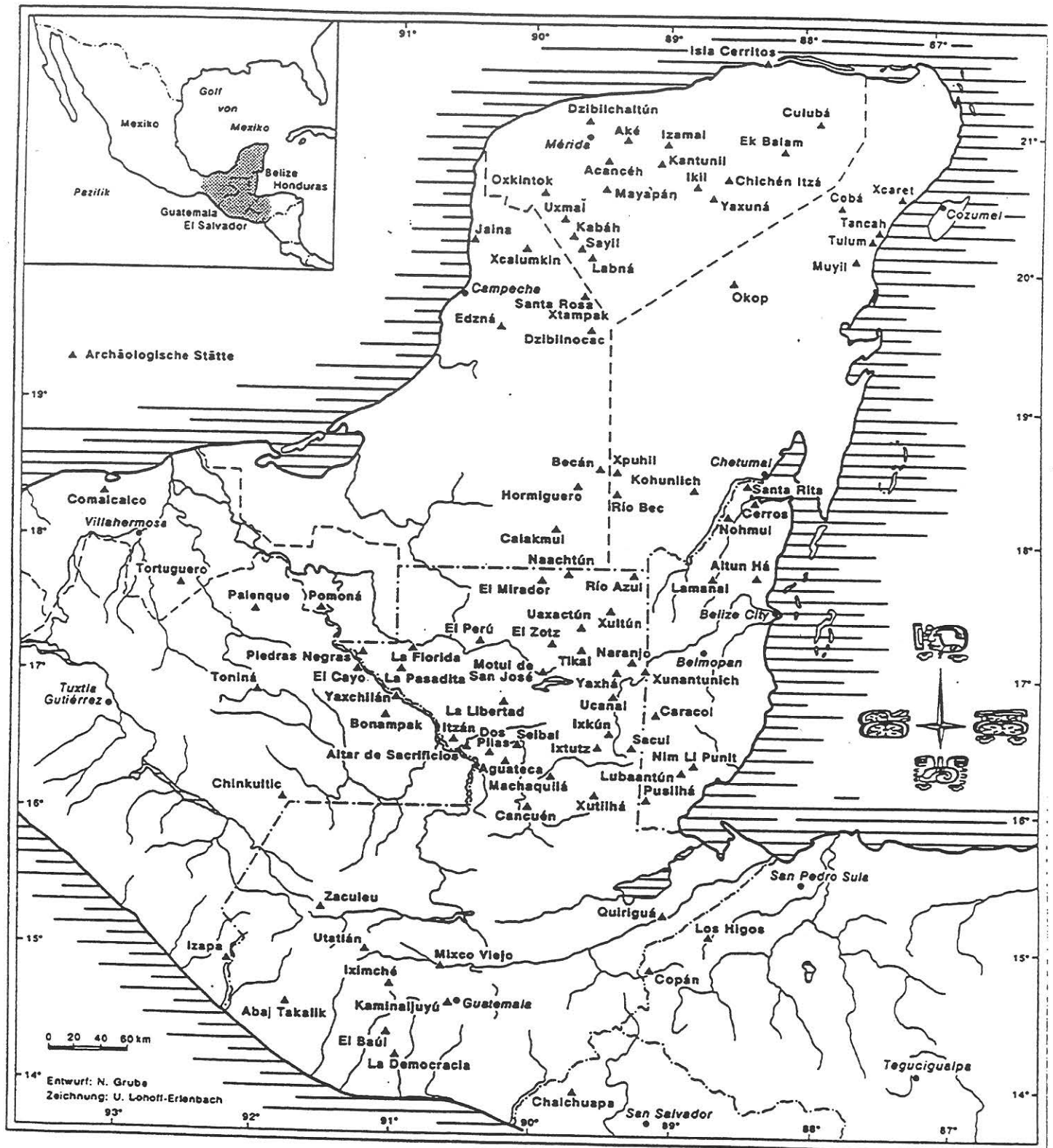
Part II

**Chichen Itza  
and Ek Balam:  
Terminal Classic Inscriptions From Yucatan**



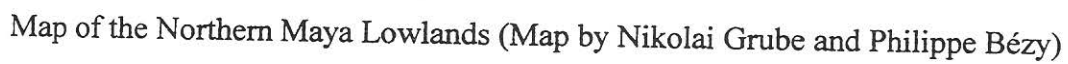
by Nikolai Grube, Alfonso Lacadena and Simon Martin

March 2003



Map of the Maya Area with some of the most important sites.





Map of the Northern Maya Lowlands (Map by Nikolai Grube and Philippe Bézy)

## Introduction: On the Nature of Yucatec Inscriptions

We have chosen to dedicate the 2003 Maya Meetings to the topic of inscriptions from northern Yucatan, especially to the inscriptions from Chichen Itza and Ek Balam, probably the two most influential sites of the Yucatan Peninsula during the Terminal Classic period. The objective of this year's glyph forum is not only to present the new inscriptions from Ek Balam and to determine the relations that existed between this city and Chichen Itza, but also to get a more sophisticated understanding of the processes of change and transformation that took place in this region between the Classic and Postclassic periods. Yucatec epigraphy has been neglected for many years, and there are only a few studies devoted exclusively to the analysis of the inscriptional corpus from Yucatan. A list of articles and books, which are relevant for this topic is in the bibliography at the end.

Many scholars have noted that Northern Mayan writing is very different from writing in the Southern Lowlands. Previous Maya Meetings have been dedicated to the history of sites in the Southern Lowlands, where we get a wealth of information about ruler's biographies, interaction between cities, diplomacy, warfare and ritual activities. Inscriptions in the South record parentage and other family relationships and connect the fate of dynasties to identifiable places. All of this is very different in the North, where Maya scribes employed a radically different discourse strategy. For some reason, in most places (except for Chichen Itza and Ek Balam) there was no interest or need for recording long histories of sequential and related events. Inscriptions from the Yucatan Peninsula are not about conquests and life histories of grand men. This is why most of the common war expressions, such as "capture", "Star War", *jub'unuy u to'ok' u pakal* "downing of the flint and shield" (a metaphorical expression for war) from the Southern Lowlands do not show up in inscriptions from the North. The de-personalized character of most Yucatec texts also becomes apparent in the lack of any birth glyph, accession statement, or record of death. Another feature, which is lacking are hieroglyphs indicating parentage. The "child of father" and *y-unen* "child of" hieroglyphs are absent in the entire area except in the sites of Edzna, Itzimte and Ek Balam. It is only the *y-al* "child of mother" glyph, which has a wider distribution, especially at Edzna, Uxmal, Itzimte, Ek Balam and Chichen Itza. It seems that matrilineal was at least in some places more important than patrilineal descent. In any case, issues such as the legitimization of rulership through lineages, the existence and shape of dynasties or the institution of royal houses were not important enough for the people who commissioned these texts.

Also the language used in the Northern texts does not help to clarify their contents. Recent studies suggest that Ch'olan and Yucatec were used at the same time in the written records. Actually, the usage of the Classic Ch'olan language outside the Ch'olan vernacular zone placed in the Southern Lowlands—as in Northern Yucatan or Chiapas Highlands—is the best proof that a language of Ch'olan affiliation was used as a prestige language by Classic times, as Stephen Houston, John Robertson and David Stuart have recently suggested (2000). In comparison to Classic Ch'olan, Classic Yucatec is poorly known. At the best, we can only explain linguistically some few features found in the Northern texts. More often, however, we can only state (or even simply feel) that the morphology is different, although an accurate explanation is still to be found. Some of the problems concerning the 'Yucatecan' language in Northern Yucatan come from the fact that the language that we find in the Northern texts is several centuries earlier than the proposed proto-Yucatec as has been reconstructed by historical linguists (Lacadena and Wichmann 2002).

### Yucatec Styles of Recording Dates

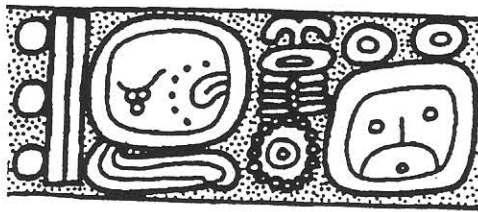
We do find a number of the Initial Series dates so familiar from Southern texts, though they are much less common in the North. The lintels from Oxkintok record particularly early dates, on 9.2.?.?.?, 9.2.11.16.17 (AD 487), and 9.3.13.0.9 (XX), this last on a Lintel recently found by the Mexican archaeologist Ricardo Velazquez. The early monuments from Edzna—such as St. 22 (9.11.0.0.0, AD 652); St. 21 (9.11.10.0.0, AD 662); St. 18, (9.12.0.0.0, AD 672); St. 19 (9.13.0.0.0, AD 692); St. 20 (9.13.17.9.16?, AD 709); St. 3, 9.14.0.0.0 AD 711)—all carry Initial Series dates (except for Stela 3) and display a shift in the Haab coefficient which otherwise is known as the Puuc-style of dating. Current evidence suggests that Edzna or Jaina were the first places where this particular modified Calendar Round was employed, a system that later spread to other places over the Puuc region, such as Santa Rosa Xtampak, Itzimte, Xcorralche, Xcalumkin, Kabah, Sayil, Sisilá, Uxmal and Oxkintok. At Pixoy, Stela 5 records the date 9.14.0.0.0 with the classic Calendar Round system, yet, the Long Count is written with a 9 for the Bak'tun period, a 13 for the K'atun

and the next three periods are all prefixed by the sign T683a, which besides '20' carries the logographic reading K'AL 'enclose, complete'. Thus, it is not so much the "emptiness" as the idea that the old cycles were completed that is recorded in this idiosyncratic Long Count. Both the unusual Pixoy notation and the Puuc style of dating suggest a shared preoccupation of the Yucatec scribes with calendrical matters. There was clearly a desire to modify the calendar used in the Southern Lowlands, as if the use of alternative formulae and notations served to define a distinct northern identity. Varying calendar systems are a common marker of group difference amongst pre-industrial societies. Such variation in respect to Southern calendrics was strongly felt by classic Yucatecs, and openly exhibited in their texts. In fact, there is a close correspondence between the geographic distribution of the Short-Count and the Yucatecan phonological, morphological and syntactical features. Yucatecs in the Classic period were aware of their distinct personality.

The Short Count, or Tun-Ajaw notation of dates is another such feature. Although Tun-Ajaw dates occur in the western and eastern Puuc region as well as at Chichen Itza or Ek Balam, they are particularly common at Xcalumkin and Xkombec. This form of notation rests on the idea that each K'atun in the Maya Calendar is named after the day on which it ended. Since a K'atun had  $360 \times 20$  days, the day of the Tzolkin was always the same, Ajaw. However, the coefficients of the day Ajaw varied, so that the K'atun of 9.15.0.0.0 ended on 4 Ajaw, 9.16.0.0.0 on 2 Ajaw, 9.17.0.0.0 on 13 Ajaw, 9.18.0.0.0 on 11 Ajaw, 9.19.0.0.0 on 9 Ajaw, 10.0.0.0.0 on 7 Ajaw, 10.1.0.0.0 on 5 Ajaw, 10.2.0.0.0 on 3 Ajaw, 10.3.0.0.0 on 1 Ajaw, and 10.4.0.0.0 on 12 Ajaw. Sometimes, the end of a K'atun period was everything a Maya scribe wanted to record, and for this aim it was sufficient to write a single Ajaw sign with a coefficient. The giant Ajaw altars from Caracol and Tonina are precursors to the Yucatec K'atun notations.

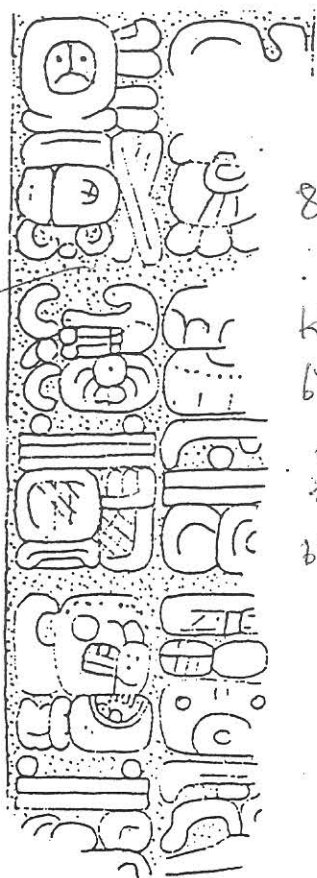
More often, however, Yucatec scribes wanted to provide a more precise dating of an event and wrote the Tun, in which a particular event occurred. A date such as "the 5<sup>th</sup> Tun in 3 Ajaw" thus refers to a day in the K'atun that ends on 3 Ajaw, the K'atun ending on 10.3.0.0.0. The 5<sup>th</sup> Tun would narrow down the time span to 10.2.4.0.1 to 12.2.5.0.0. It is important to keep in mind that all the dates refer specifically to the last day of a period. Such Short-Count notations were often combined with other forms of dating. However, the Long Count is widely ignored. Tun-Ajaw dates make it possible to fix a date within a period of 260 Tun (256 years), but cannot specify a particular day within a current Tun. This lack of precise day-by-day notation is one of the most striking differences we see to inscriptions from the Southern Lowlands, and clearly demonstrates that historical events such as birth, accession, death, warfare, and visits, were of little interest for the scribes of the region. The events associated with the Tun-Ajaw dates are exclusively of a dedicatory nature, involving the termination, inauguration and probably also unveiling of architectural elements. These events were certainly of a broad ceremonial type, which did not need to be associated with a particular day. In terms of geographic distribution, there is a close correspondence between the Short-Count and the Yucatecan phonological, morphological and syntactical features. Yucatecs in the Classic period were aware of their distinct personality.

However, we must consider that this may be another characteristic of Yucatecan literary idiosyncrasy. Other Mesoamerican written traditions of Central Mexico and Maya Highlands also used the year—and not a precise day-month record—as the basic unit of the chronological skeleton of their political narratives. Actually, this same kind of chronological notation will be found later, in the same zone of Northern Yucatan, for example in the Chilam Balam books, where not only ritual or dedicatory events but also those of undisputable political nature are referred in clear association to Tun-K'atun or simply K'atun notations.



Kayal, Campeche, Fragment of a Hieroglyphic Frieze: The date reads 13 tuun *ta* 2 ajaw. K'atun 2 Ajaw ends on 9.16.0.0.0, the date therefore refers to the 13<sup>th</sup> Tun within this K'atun. The 13<sup>th</sup> Tun ends on 9.15.13.0.0. (Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

4 Ajaw  
8 Kumk'u



li  
ya  
Jal  
Tzotzuyig

8 Kumk'u

k'o

ba

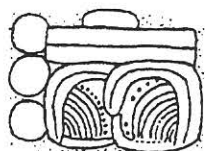
u

11

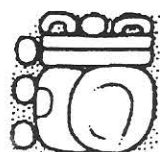
3'aktun

6  
ajaw

11.0.0.0.0 = 8 ajaw  
6 ajaw



paranjo



### Chichen Itza, Caracol "Stela", 13.0.0.0.0 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk'u

(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

This text runs along the right small side of the so-called "Caracol Stela", a monument, which actually resembles a panel or a table rather than a stela. The lower part of the text on the right side refers to the creation date 13.0.0.0.0 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk'u and is the only creation text known from Yucatan. An interesting feature of this text is that it is written in mirror image, similar to the possible creation text in the Paris Codex. The passage begins with the Calendar Round date 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk'u and continues with the verbal expression JAL-?-li-ya, which also is part of the highly formulaic creation texts from the Southern Lowlands. The verb is followed by k'o-ba, k'o'b "hearth" as the subject of the sentence. A new sentence is introduced by the verb K'AL-li(?) -ya, "and then it was tied". The next hieroglyph is u-III-XI-PIK. This hieroglyph occurs at Tikal and elsewhere in Maya inscriptions as a calendrical title related to a certain number of Bak'tuns. Often, lords claim to be *ajaw* of 3-11-Bak'tuns.

Miscellaneous Text 26 from Burial 116 at Tikal leaves no doubt that the title is based on a count of Bak'tun periods added to a base date which is 4 Ajaw 8 Kumk'u. The coefficients refer to multiples of 11 Bak'tuns. The first 11 Bak'tun period ends on 6 Ajaw 8 Mak, the second 11 Bak'tun period ends on 8 Ajaw 8 Mol, and the third 11 Bak'tun period finds its end on 10 Ajaw 8 Sip. For some reason the coefficients in this compound will never exceed  $3 \times 11$  Bak'tuns. The connection of this cycle of multiples of 11 Bak'tuns with the creation date certainly is significant. A possible explanation is that the present creation was regarded to last 3 times 11 Bak'tuns, or 1 Piktun and 13 Bak'tuns. A king who would carry this title therefore would identify himself as a "Lord of the present Creation". Here, the 3-11-Bak'tun expression is possessed. The name of the possessor is missing, unless it occurred somewhere in the now eroded part of the text. However, the two following glyphs link the preceding phrase to the 17<sup>th</sup> Tun in a K'atun 1 Ajaw, a date that corresponds to 10.2.17.0.0 and which is also mentioned as an important date in the main part of the Caracol Stela inscription. In that text, the 10.2.17.0.0 date is associated with some kind of event (probably the 759-ka-ja event) whose subject is K'ak'upakal. This is also the last mention of K'ak'upakal in the inscriptions of Chichen Itza. There may be a connection between his "disappearance" and the "binding" of the 3-11-Bak'tun cycle.

1.13.0.0.0.0



### Chichen Itza, Offerings from the Cenote

Chichen Itza was a major pilgrimage site at the time of the Spanish Conquest, but it had the same function as early as the Classic Period. Tatiana Proskouriakoff was the first to show that many of the jade objects recovered from the Cenote carry inscriptions from the Southern Lowlands, and several were the possessions of well-known kings from Piedras Negras, Palenque and other places. The question here is how these objects arrived at Chichen Itza. The dates found on these objects fall into a limited period of time – a span of just 30 years. Does this imply that they were thrown into the Cenote in one single offering event?

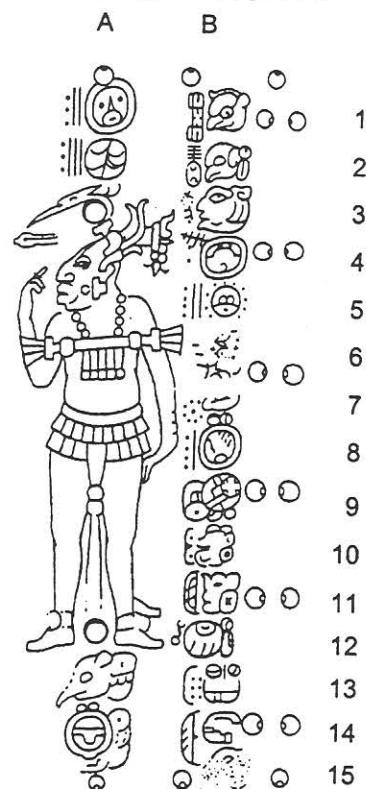
9.12.4.12.0 13 Ajaw 18 Kumk'u (February 2, 677)

9.12.18.5.16 2 Kib 14 Mol (July 20, 690)

9.13.2.17.7 9 Manik 0 Pop (February 15, 695)

These dates occur on a small, incised jade tube. Tatiana Proskouriakoff was the first to realize that these dates correspond to important events at Palenque, and indeed the name of K'inich Kan Balam from Palenque is mentioned at B1. Here, it is followed by a statement **ta AJAW** "as king", suggesting that the entire phrase referred to Kan Balam's accession on 9.12.11.12.10 8 Ok 3 K'ayab (January 7, 684) or an anniversary of his accession. 2 Kib 14 Mol was the date of the dedication of the sanctuaries in the three Temples of the Cross Group at Palenque. The last date, 9 Manik 0 Pop cannot yet be linked to any important event in the history of Palenque.

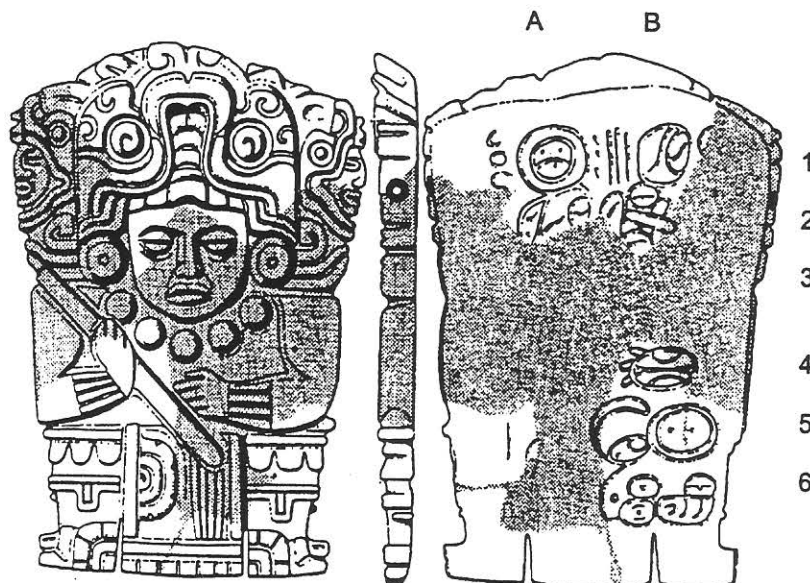
(Drawing by Tatiana Proskouriakoff)



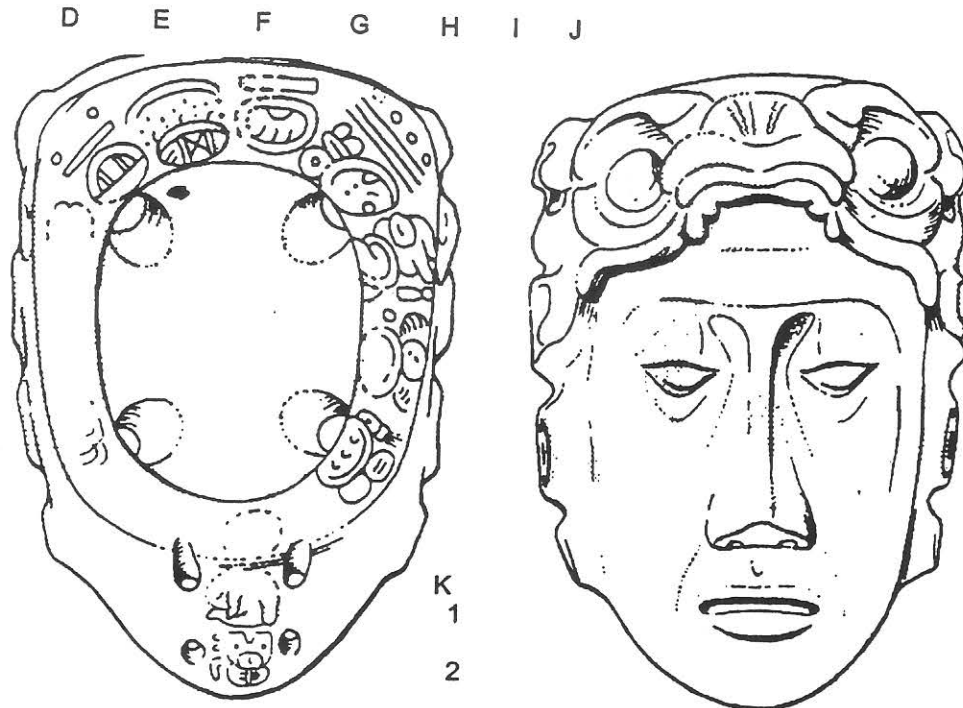
9.12.10.10.1

1 Ajaw 18 K'ank'in  
(Nov. 23, 682)

This single date occurs at the beginning of a now heavily eroded text on the back side of a jade pectoral found in the Cenote. The **BAAK** logograph in B4 and the fact that the date falls close to the dates on the Palenque jade tube may be taken as evidence that this jade also came from Palenque and was thrown into the Cenote as part of the same offering ritual.



(Drawing by Tatiana Proskouriakoff)

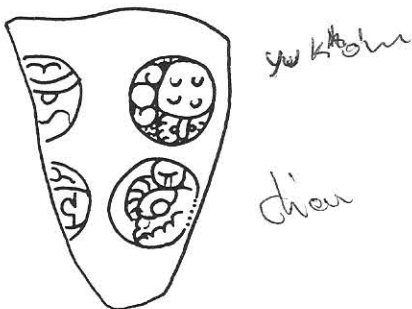
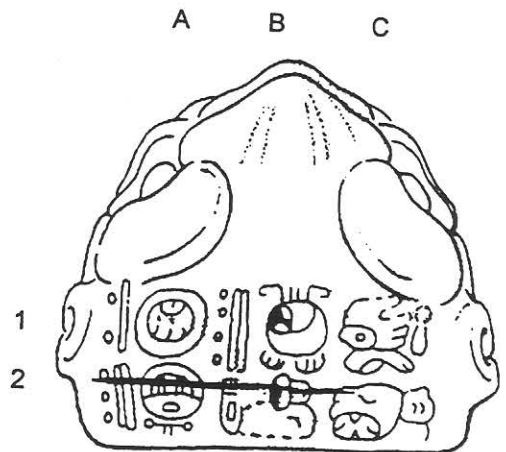


(Drawing by Tatiana Proskouriakoff)

9.13.7.13.1 7 Imix 14 Mak (Oct. 26, 699)

9.13.14.13.1 5 Imix 19 Sak (September 19, 706)

Tatiana Proskouriakoff has shown that this jade head must have originated at Piedras Negras because both dates are anniversaries of the accession of Yo'nal Ahk II. The first date commemorates the 13<sup>th</sup> Tun of his accession, the second date is cast into the future and states that "in seven years it will come to pass 5 Imix 19 Sak, when the 1<sup>st</sup> K'atun in *ajawlel* ends". In the preserved part of the text, only the childhood name of the king is mentioned – the head of a feline eating the glyph WINIK "human". The fact that this feline often has a -ji suffix may indicate a reading *kooj* "Puma". In any case, the jade itself is a full version of the childhood name of the king and shows a human head emerging from the open maw of a feline.



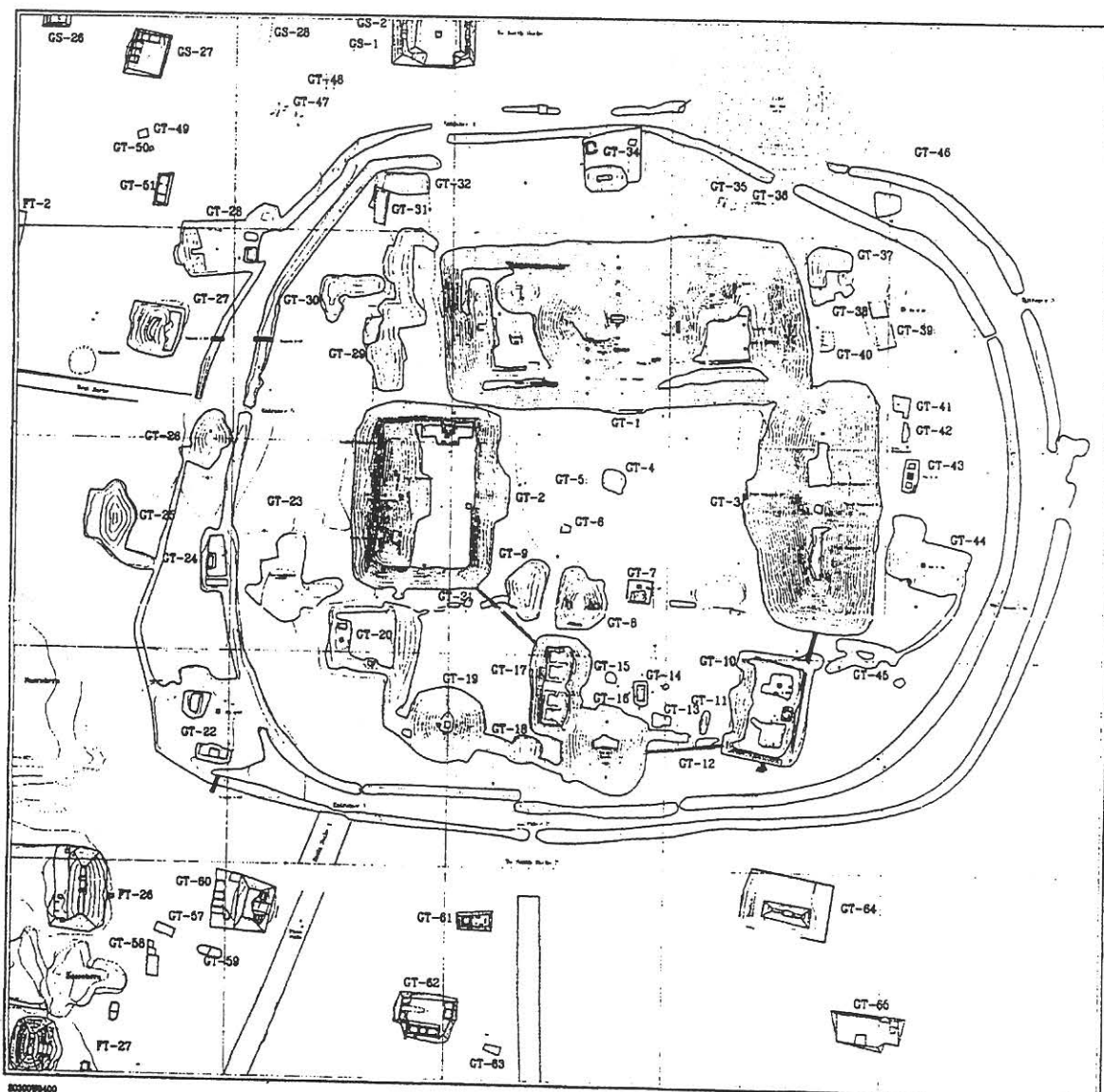
(Drawing by Nikolai Grube)

This jade was not found in the cenote but in an offering cache under the stairway of the Castillo. The offering was placed in a stone box and contained turquoise mosaic shields and large flint knives as well as a large number of carved jades. This jade is particularly important because it mentions Yukno'm Ch'een of Calakmul, one of the most powerful lords of the Maya Lowlands. It is additional evidence that Chichen Itza was a famous pilgrimage center, attracting people from very distant regions. We do not know when this jade arrived at Chichen Itza, but the sheer fact that it finally arrived at Chichen is a sign for the political and religious networks entertained by the city.

### The archaeological site of Ek Balam

Ek Balam started to reveal its secrets in the eighties, when the archeological team of Bill Ringle and George Bey began their archaeological works at the site. Since the mid-nineties the site has been worked by a Mexican team lead by Arq. Leticia Vargas de la Peña and Victor Castillo Borges. Thanks to these interventions, Ek Balam can offer now one of the most important glyphic corpus of Northern Yucatan.

Ek Balam had an Emblem Glyph. It was first identified by Bill Ringle on the eroded Stela 1, for many years the only known glyphic monument of the site, along with Stela 2, very badly preserved. Although at that moment the emblem glyph could not be read accurately due to its erosion, he realized the political implications of that fact. Today the Ek Balam emblem glyph is attested more than a dozen times, and it can be read. The name of the old kingdom is usually spelled by two signs, **TAL-lo**. It can be transliterated in two ways, as *Talo[']* or *Tal[o]l*. Since we do not have any example of **TAL-o** or **TAL-lo-o**, the transliteration *Tal[o]l* will be the one favored here.



Map of Ek Balam (after Ringle and Bey 1995)





reading in double columns, the length of the text and the number of its blocks —96, as in the famous carved panel from Palenque—, the originality of certain spellings, the masterful use of glyphic variants and the extremely excellent quality of its calligraphy point at it as one of the most fascinating painted texts of the Classic Period ever found. Although part of the text still remains opaque, we have an idea of its general meaning and significance.

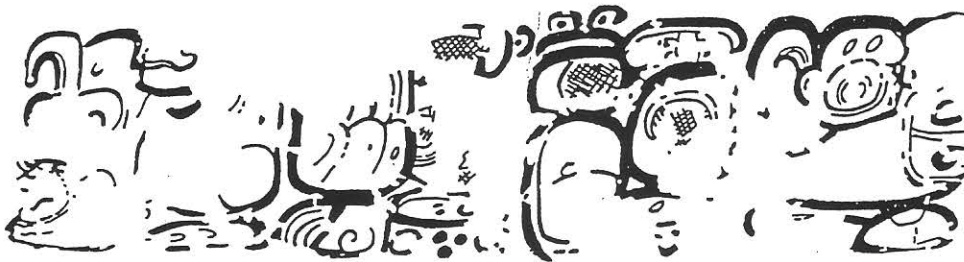
The text starts with the Calendar Round 11 Eb' 10 Sotz', corresponding to the Long Count 9.16.19.3.12 (April 7th, 770 AD). The associated event is the arrival to the place of a personage called Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek', the lord of a kingdom not identified yet, spelled by the head of a mammal. This king carries the highest titles that can be associated to a king: *k'uhul ajaw* 'holy lord', *b'aah kab'* 'head of the land', and *kalo'mte'*. Interestingly, he is specifically named *xaman kalo'mte'* 'the *kalo'mte'* of the North', a variant of the title previously unknown (now also identified by Stan Guenter on Ixlu Altar 1, a Terminal Classic inscription from Central Peten).



4

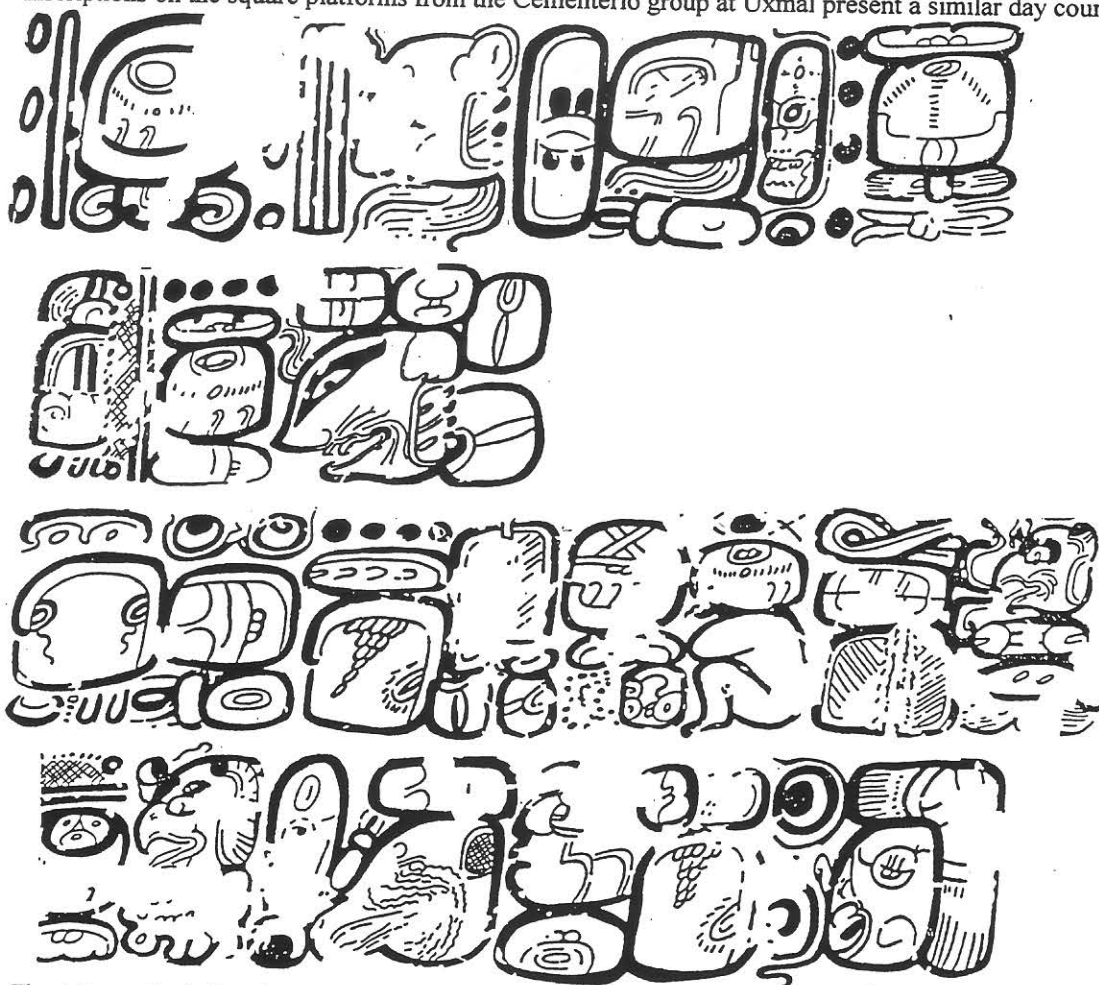


An interesting expression is placed in between the arrival event and the name of the arriving individual. It is spelled as ?-EK'-b'a-la-ma, ... Ek' B'alam. Regrettably, because of the bad condition of the preceding signs, we cannot be sure if this expression is part of an anthroponymic phrase or whether it refers to the place where the arrival took place. The tradition—as told in the *Relaciones Geograficas* of Yucatan—states that the name of the place was given after the arrival of a founder whose name was Ek Balam. In any case, it could be the name of a person or the name of the place — the interpretation we favour here. The association of a glyphically written Ek' B'alam with a name preserved into the Colonial period and still used in the present to refer to the ruins, is of main importance.



Chak Jutuw Chan Ek' is related with a second personage in the text. This second person is called u-ki-ti ka-na-le-ku, *Ukit Kan Le'k*, the first lord of Ek Balam known at present. He is certainly the historical individual most often mentioned in the entire written corpus of Northern Yucatan. Unfortunately, the glyph that would have specified the nature of the relation between Chak Jutuw Chan Ek' and Ukit Kan Le'k, spelled as u-RABBIT-ka-ja, has not been deciphered yet. It is a very common verbal glyph both in the texts of the Southern Lowlands as well as in the Dresden Codex.

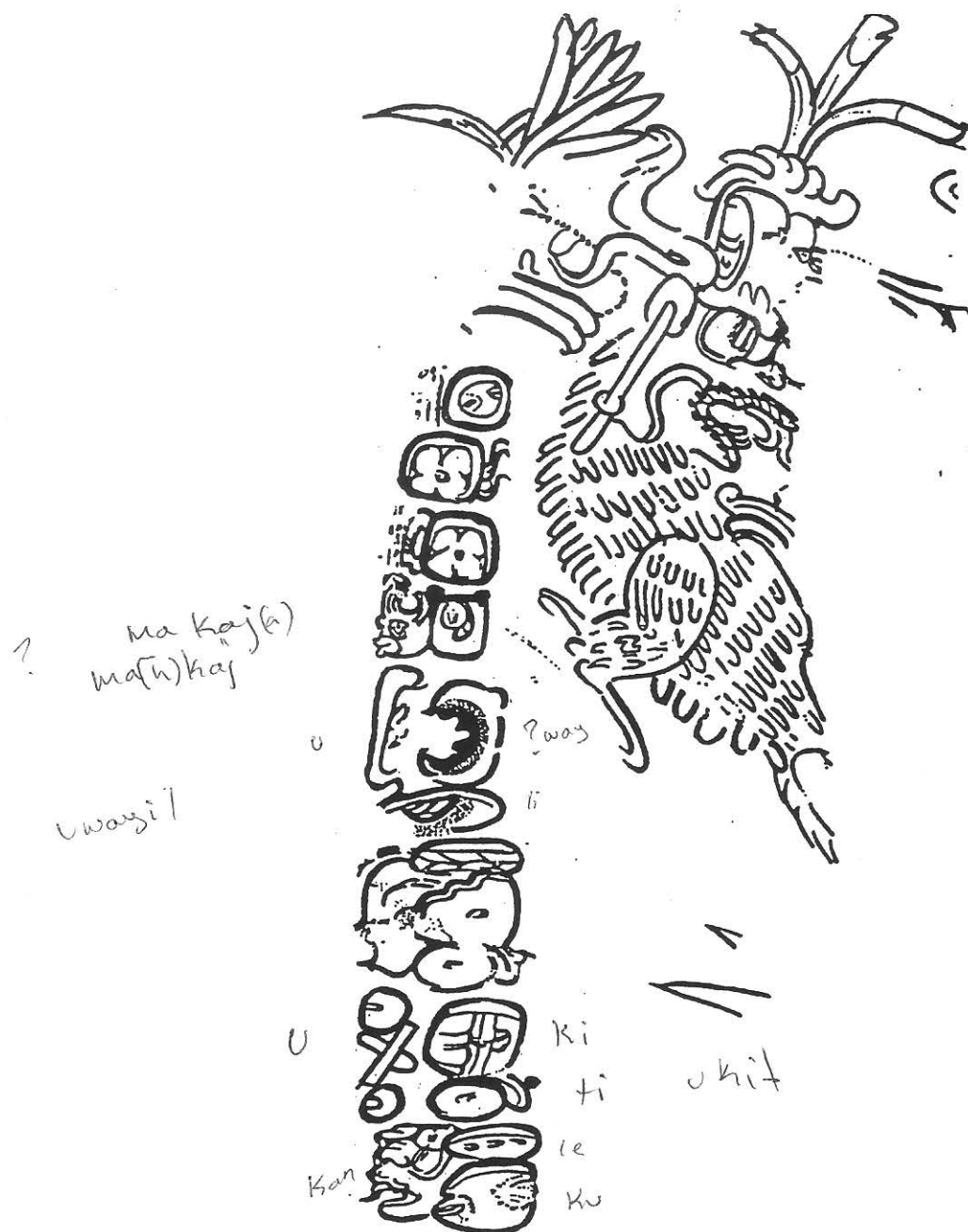
Forty-nine days after the arrival event, a second date is mentioned. In a really original way, the master scribe did not write the expected Distance Number of 2.9, but wrote one by one all the forty-nine days. This Distance Number format is uncommon, but not entirely exceptional. On the Denver-Brussels (?) panel and on Uaxactun Str. XIII-Sub mural similar day-by-day counts can be found. In the Northern Lowlands, the inscriptions on the square platforms from the Cementerio group at Uxmal present a similar day count.



The date reached after these 49 days is 8 Imix 19 Xul, corresponding to 9.16.19.6.1 (May 26th, 770 AC). The event associated to this date is written as *ta-k'a-ni-ti*, which is probably *tak'aan* plus preposition *ti* 'at'. It is not clear yet which of the many meanings of *tak'* is referred here. *Tak'* means 'to plaster on a wall', actually an appropriated expression for the dedication of a mural painting; another meaning of *tak'* is 'to participate', 'to become a companion'; *tak'-aan* could also mean 'to become a (younger) brother', meanings that should not be discarded, if we speculate a bit about the significance of this text in the context of Ek Balam's dynastic history. In any case, the verbal expression involves the foreign holy lord and Ukit Kan Le'k.

The text ends with a really interesting sentence: *i-PAT-la-ja TAL-lo-AJAW*, *i patlaj Talol ajaw* 'and then the king of Talol was made'. Since seemingly this is the first date associated with Ukit Kan Le'k, this reference can be taken as his date of accession. It is important to keep in mind that according to the archaeological and epigraphic data, at this time the Acropolis of Ek Balam was still a relatively small structure, probably only one-third width and less than half-high than the impressive 170 meters wide, seventy meters long and 35 meters high that we can admire now.



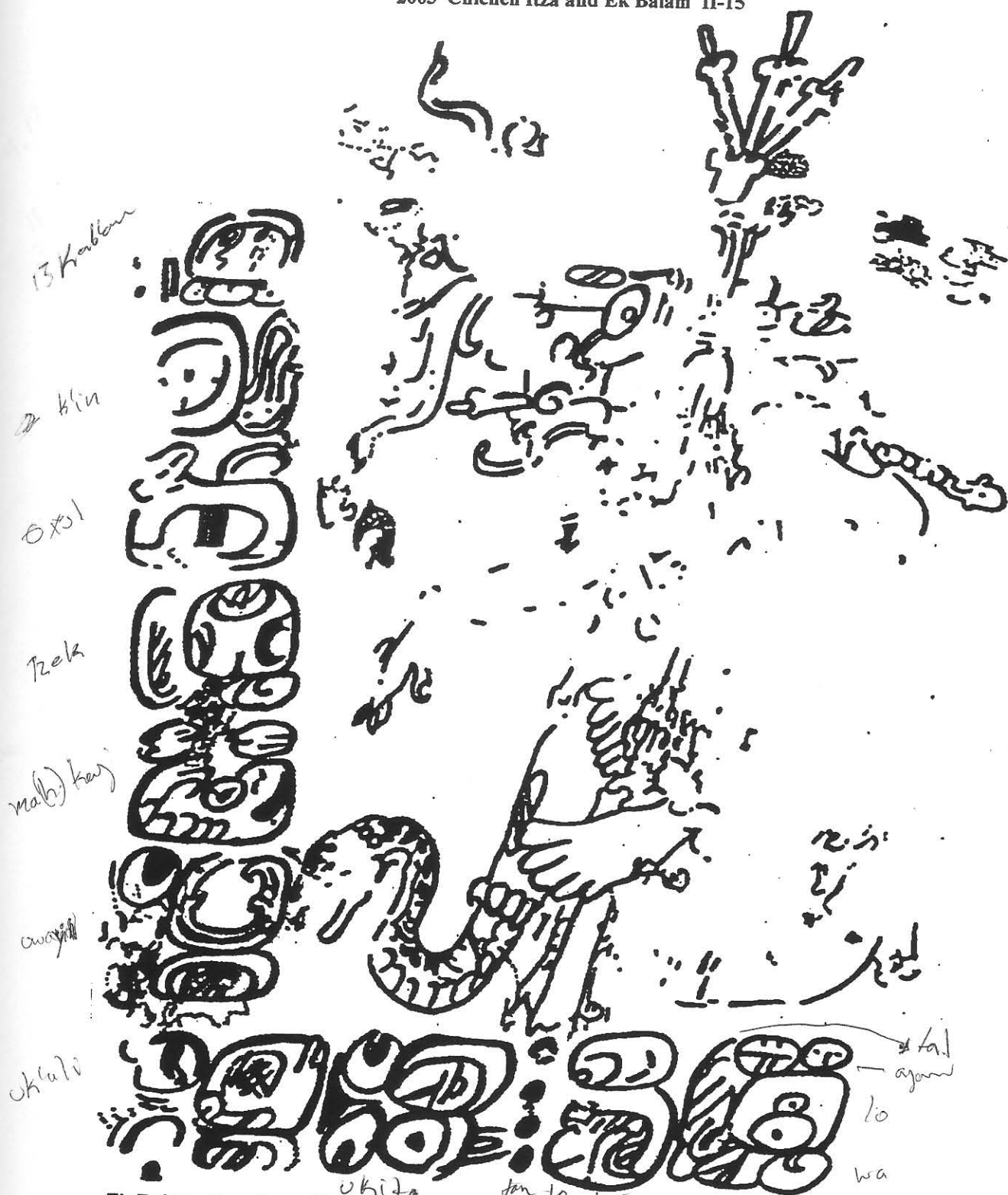


**Ek Balam, Capstone 7, 9.17.4.7.19 13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in (June 7, 775)**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

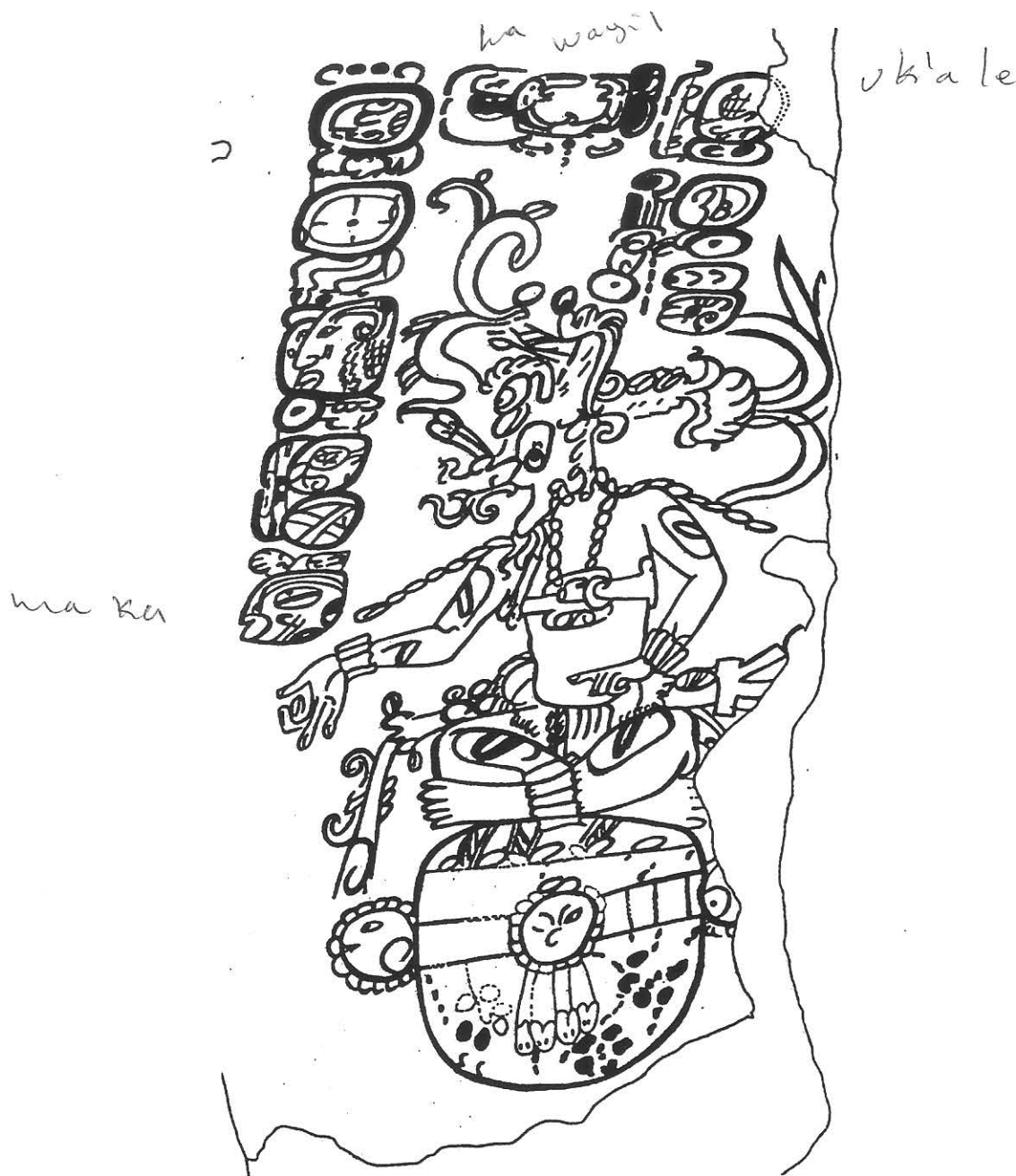
Immediately after the dedication of the Mural of the 96 Glyphs and the accession of Ukit Kan Le'k as king of Talol, the Acropolis of Ek Balam started to experience a massive program of architectural expansion, embellishment and remodeling. This capstone, found in Room 33, bears the date 13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in, corresponding to 9.17.4.7.19 (June 7, 775 AC). The capstone presents a format that with little variations will appear in the other dedicatory capstones at the Acropolis: an image of a propitiatory deity, usually a bird-like Itzamnaaj or K'awiil—gods of wisdom, wealth and royalty—and an associated text displayed as a frame, beginning with a date, the verb *mak* 'to close, cover' in passive voice, a reference to the building (*way* 'chamber', *k'aal* 'enclosure', *otoot* 'house') and the name of its owner. In this case, the text says that 13 Kawak k'in 12 Yaxk'in *ma[h]kaj u way[i]l yotoot Ukit Kan Le'k* '(On) the day 13 Kawak 12 Yaxk'in, the chamber of the house of Ukit Kan Le'k was covered' (Notice the usage of the three-dotted *ma* syllable, first attested in initial position).





Ek Balam, Capstone 14, 9.17.10.7.17 13 Kaban end of Sek (May 4, 781)

Six years later, a new remodelation of the Acropolis was recorded on this capstone, found inside Room 45, on the east side of the Acropolis. The text, framing an image of a seated K'awil, reads 13 Kab'an k'in ti'haab' Kase'w ma[h]kaj uway[i]l uk'aal Ukit Kan Le'k Tal[o]l Ajaw '(On) the day 13 Kab'an, (in) the border of time of Kase'w' [0 Xul], the chamber, the enclosure of Ukit Kan Le'k, king of Talol, was covered' (the date corresponds to the Long Count 9.17.10.7.17 (May 4, 781). The pairing of way 'chamber' and k'aal 'enclosure' provides an elegant literary effect to the dedicatory text.



**Ek Balam, Capstone 6, 9.17.12.5.15 2 Men 6 Sip (March 13, 783)**

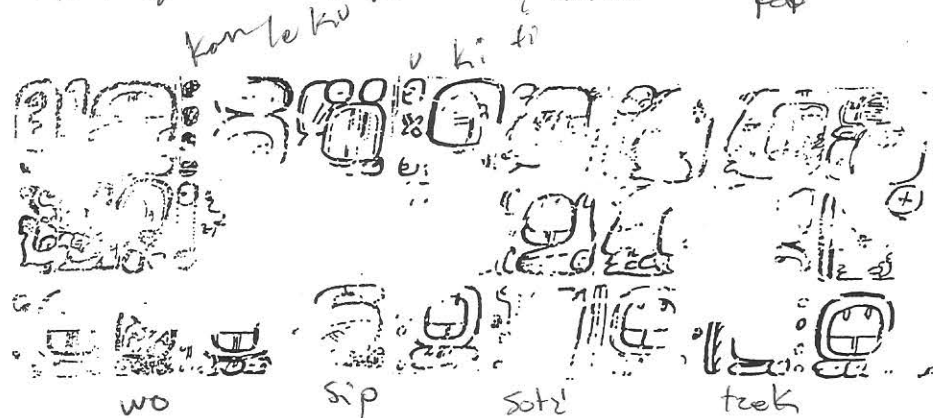
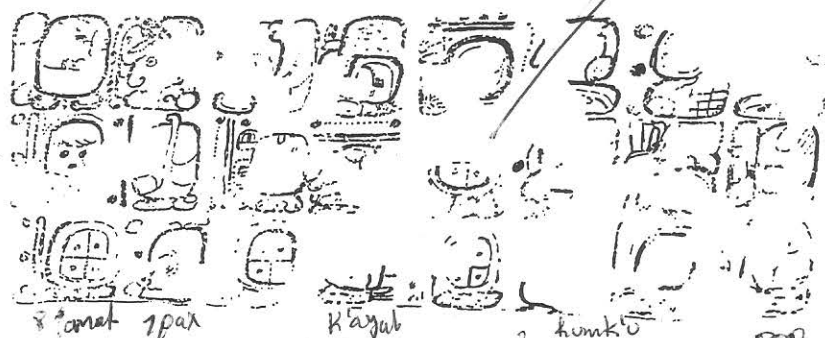
(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

Only two years later, the west side of the Acropolis was remodelled with the construction of a second level over the sequence of rooms where Capstone 7 was found. Inside Room 30 the Mexican archaeologists uncovered this capstone. Again, framing an image of a seated K'awiil, a glyphic text gives an account of the intervention: 2 Men [Tz'ikin?] k'in tu['] 6te' Chakat ma[h]kaj way[i]l uk'aale Ukit Kan Le'k ' (On) the day 2 Men, in the 6th of Chakat, the chamber was covered; it is the enclosure of Ukit Kan Le'k.' The date corresponds to 9.17.12.5.15 (March 13, 783). Notice how the month has been written, as **CHAK-a-ta** or **CHAK-a-AT**. Also notice how the verbal expression *ma[h]kaj* is spelled with the *ja* syllable separated and attached to the signs of the next word in the following block (**ma-ka ja-WAY-ya-li**). Paleographically this is very important because this scriptural feature will be found in later texts at Chichen Itza. The texts of Ek Balam strongly suggest that what has been traditionally described as 'Chichen Itza style' was actually the style of a regional scribal school more widely distributed.

9.17.12.16.14

3 tamarat 1 wayab'

9.17.13.8.13

13ix  
7hahin

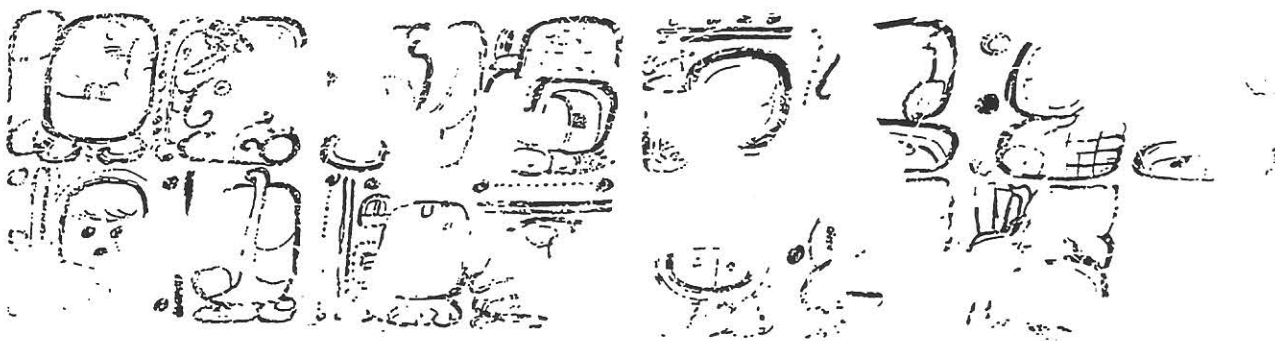
• Pax 9 17 13 0 8

K'ayab' 9 17 13 1 8

Kunkto 9 17 13 2 8

**Ek Balam, Hieroglyphic Mural from Room 22, 9.17.13.8.13 4 B'en 1 Xul (May 4, 784)**  
(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

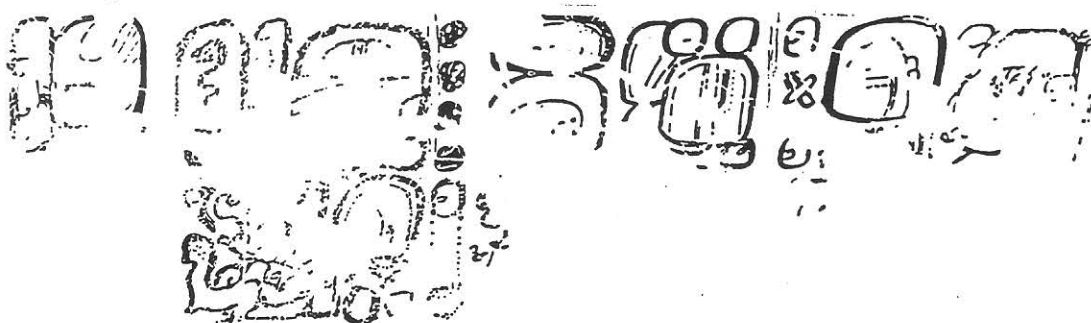
The Ek Balam archaeological team lead by Arq. Leticia Vargas and Victor Castillo found a very interesting hieroglyphic mural inside Room 22 of the Acropolis, in a building that could have constituted the original access to the Acropolis. The glyphic mural was found fallen and broken in dozens of small fragments, and it was carefully restored by INAH conservators in Merida. The glyphic mural of Room 22 is a very interesting text, a unique one because of its contents. Its format is again really original, using at the same time the normal reading order in double columns (A1-B1, A2-B2, C1-D1, C2-D2...), together with a horizontal reading order (the last line is to be read as A3-B3-C3-D3...).



The text begins with the well-known Introductory Glyph and God-N verb associated with dedicatory texts on ceramics and architectural monuments, being followed by the Calendar Round 13 Hix 7 K'ank'in, corresponding to 9.17.12.16.14 (October 18, 783). The verb that follows the date is almost lost. We can only be sure that whatever it referred to, it happened ti-OTOT-ti, *ti ootot* 'at the house', probably a

reference to the Acropolis or even to Room 22 itself. The subjects of the event is referred to with the agentive introduced by *aj-*. After this reference, there is a fascinating expression followed by a second Calendar Round that can be reconstructed as 3 Lamat 1 Wayeb, 9.17.13.3.8 in the Long Count (January 20, 784), three months after the first date. This expression is written in E1-F1, and can be read as 14-tu-[TUN]-[ni] K'AY-li 14 *tuun k'aay[i]l* or 14 *tuun k'a'y[i]l*, using the K'AY logograph recently deciphered by Stephen Houston (Houston and Taube 2000). As Houston noticed, in Maya Lowland languages *k'aay* or *k'ay* has the meaning of 'song' and 'to sing'. Interestingly, in Yucatecan languages, the form *k'a'ay* has also the related meaning of 'to announce, to proclaim'. Thus, 14 *tuun k'a'yil* could be translated as 'the announcement of the 14 *tuun*'.

It seems that the text of this mural exactly parallels Bishop Landa's information about the New Year ceremonies. He describes a ritual in which visitors congregated at the house of the lord, and the principal priest among them opened a book. After its purification he declared to the attendants the fate of the coming New Year and what the people could do in order to protect them from evil prognostications. The hieroglyphic text of this mural with its 14 *tuun k'a'yil* expression strongly suggests that the New Year's ceremonies and the associated ritual of prognostication and prophecy are of great antiquity and go back at least to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, eight hundred years before the first recorded references from the Colonial period.



The text of the Mural continues stating that all this took place *yi-chi-[NAL]*, *yich[nal]* 'at the presence' of Ukit Kan Le'k. The text goes on to provide the parentage statement of Ukit Kan Le'k. This is highly unusual in northern texts, where this type of information usually is missing. We know about his father that he was named *u-ki-ti* followed by a logograph representing an antropomorphic head. Regrettably his titles are now lost.

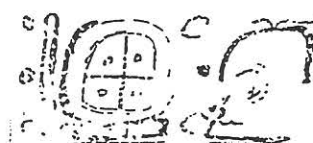


At least we know that his mother was surely of royal blood. Although her name is badly eroded, she is called *k'uhul Ixik* 'holy lady' and ... *Ho' Ixik Ajaw*, 'queen of ...ho'. This kingdom has not been found yet, although at Coba there are two references to a kingdom ending in ...*ho*: the kingdom of one of the captives depicted on a monument, and the Coba Emblem Glyph itself. In any case, the home kingdom of Ukit Kan Le'k's mother is probably to be found somewhere to the East or Southeast of Ek Balam.

At the end of the text there is a sequence of Calendar Rounds that can be reconstructed as follows:

9.17.13.0.8

8 Lamat 1 Pax (Nov. 21, 783)





- 9.17.13.1.8      2 Lamat 1 K'ayab' (Dec. 11, 783)
- 9.17.13.2.8      9 Lamat 1 Kumk'u (Dec. 31, 783)
- 9.17.13.3.13     8 B'en 1 Pop (Jan. 25, 784)
- 9.17.13.4.13     2 B'en 1 Wo (Feb. 14, 784)
- 9.17.13.5.13     9 B'en 1 Sip (Mar. 5, 784)
- 9.17.13.6.13     3 B'en 1 Sotz' (Mar., 25, 784)
- 9.17.13.7.13     10 B'en 1 Sek (Apr. 14, 784)
- 9.17.13.8.13     4 B'en 1 Xul (May 4, 784)

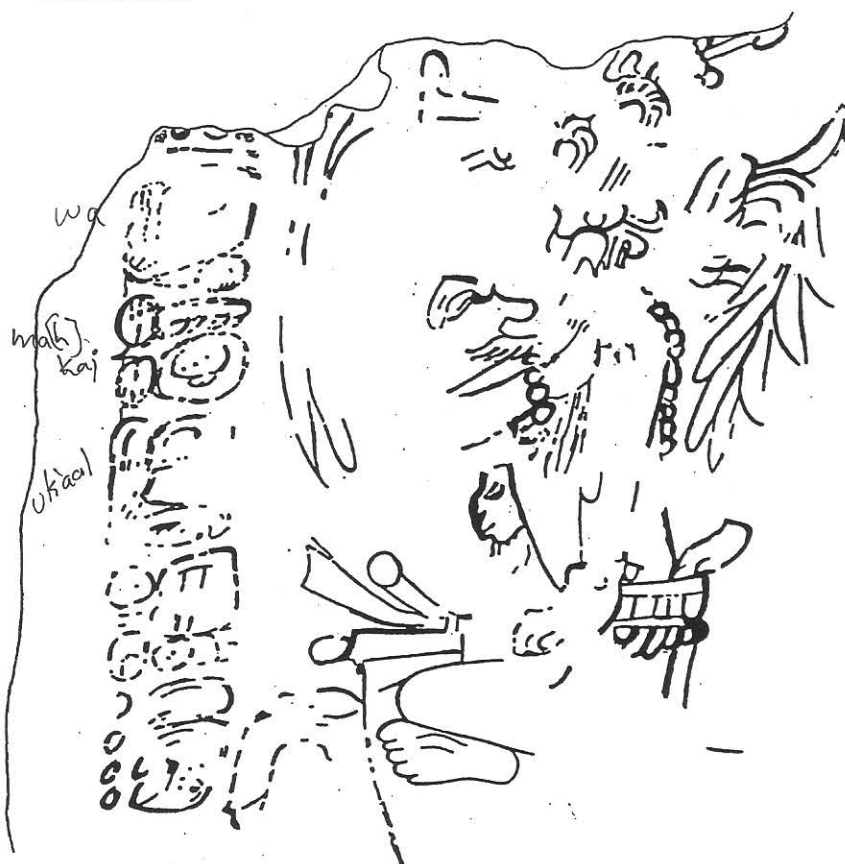


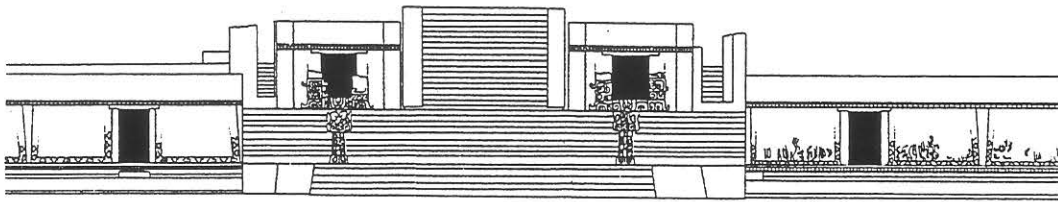
All these Calendar Rounds are separated by one Maya month or 20 days, except 9 Lamat 1 Kumk'u and 8 B'en 1 Pop, separated by 25 days, thus passing over the five days of Wayeb. If we place these Calendar Rounds in the Long Count, we can see that the Calendar Rounds correspond to the beginning of the Maya months belonging to the 14th Tun of 9.17.0.0.0, precisely the year referred before in the text—14 *tuun k'a'yil*—associated with the announcement. The New Year commemorated in the Ek Balam mural corresponds to B'en, thought to be a year of positive augury according to the Dresden Codex, which presents the same set of Year Bearers as the Ek Balam mural.

### Ek Balam, Capstone 3

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

This capstone appeared inside Room 6 of the Acropolis. It is part of one of the larger architectural projects commissioned by the king Ukit Kan Le'k, which includes the remodeling of its south façade. This façade provided the main access to the palace. A row of ten huge rooms was built at base of the Acropolis, separated by a central stairway, resulting in the giant dimension of the Acropolis, which it has now. The remains of the sculpted decoration found by Leticia Vargas and Victor Castillo associated to the walls of the rooms suggest that they were decorated with scenes of warriors and captives. Again, the capstone clearly names Ukit Kan Le'k as the owner of the building, with the typical dedication expression of ... *ma[h]kaj uk'aal ukit Kan Le'k* '(On)... the enclosure of Ukit Kan Le'k was covered', framing an image of a seated K'awiil.





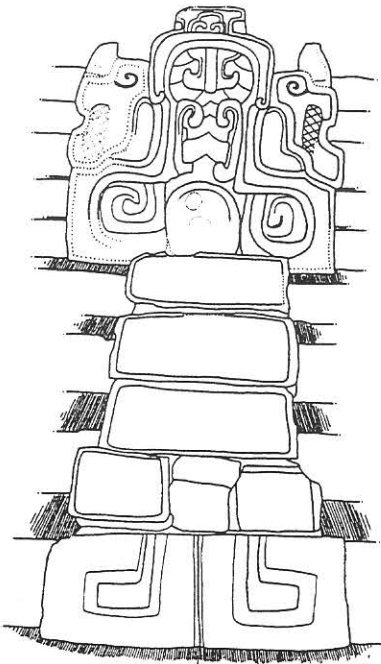
Ek Balam, the South Façade of the Acropolis (Drawing by the Ek Balam Project)

**Ek Balam, Hieroglyphic Serpent Balustrades**

(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

At the base of the remodeled stairway there were placed two interesting sculptures of serpent heads with open maws and bifid tongues coming out. On the tongues of the serpents there are two hieroglyphic inscriptions commemorating the construction. Both inscriptions basically record the same information, although there are minor differences. They state that it is *ye-b'a*, *ye[h]b'a[al]* 'the stairway of Ukit Kan Le'k'. Both inscriptions add the high political title *Kalo'mte* to Ukit Kan Le'k's name, and on one of them the Emblem Glyph is preceded by the attributive *K'UH*, *k'uh[ul]* 'holy'. On the West Hieroglyphic Serpent, the name of Ukit Kan Le'k is written in what seems to be its full form, as *Ukit Kan Le'k Too'k*. This text also provides the name (*u-K'ABA-a*) for the stairway. The name consists of a head eating a circular element with three dots infixed. This is certainly a reference to the open maw of the serpent, which seems to eat the same three-dotted element.

The remodeling of the south facade probably marks the climax of Ukit Kan Le'k's political power and the consolidation of his Talol kingdom as a major regional power. According to the iconographical program on the walls of the ten rooms placed to the sides of the stairway, this influence was based to a large degree on military success.

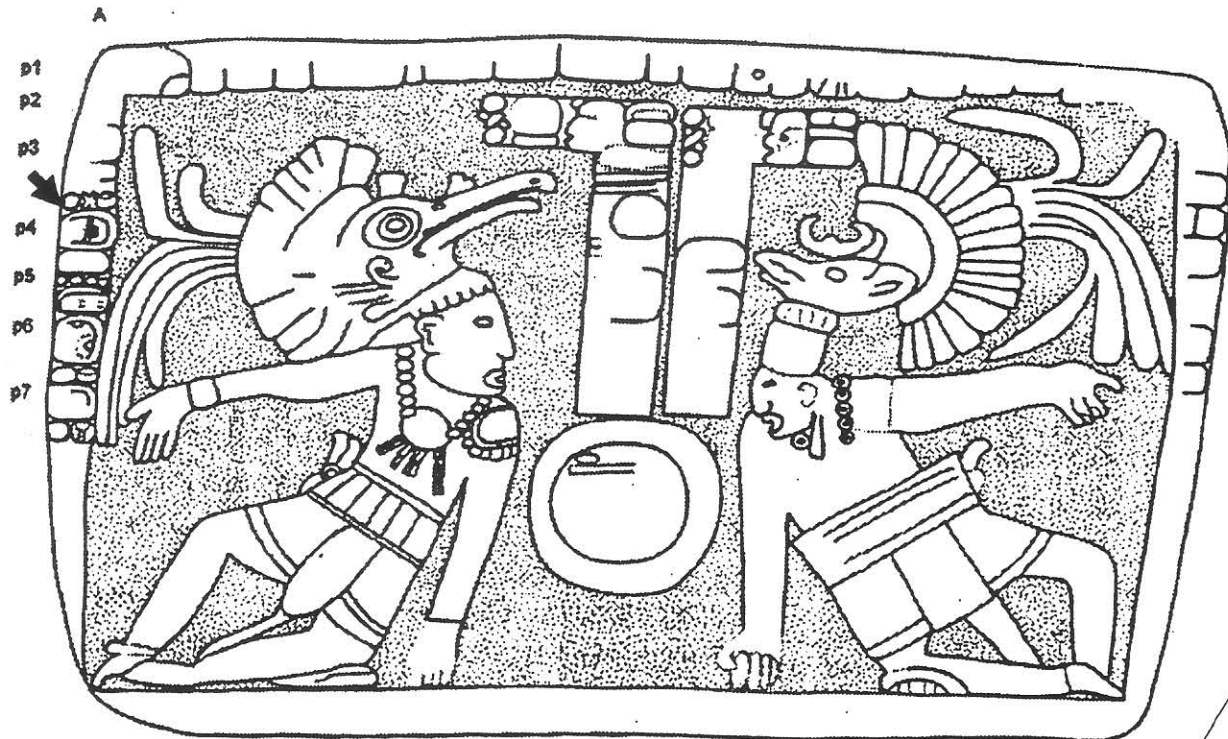


west



east

*ye b'a*  
*ye[h]b'a*



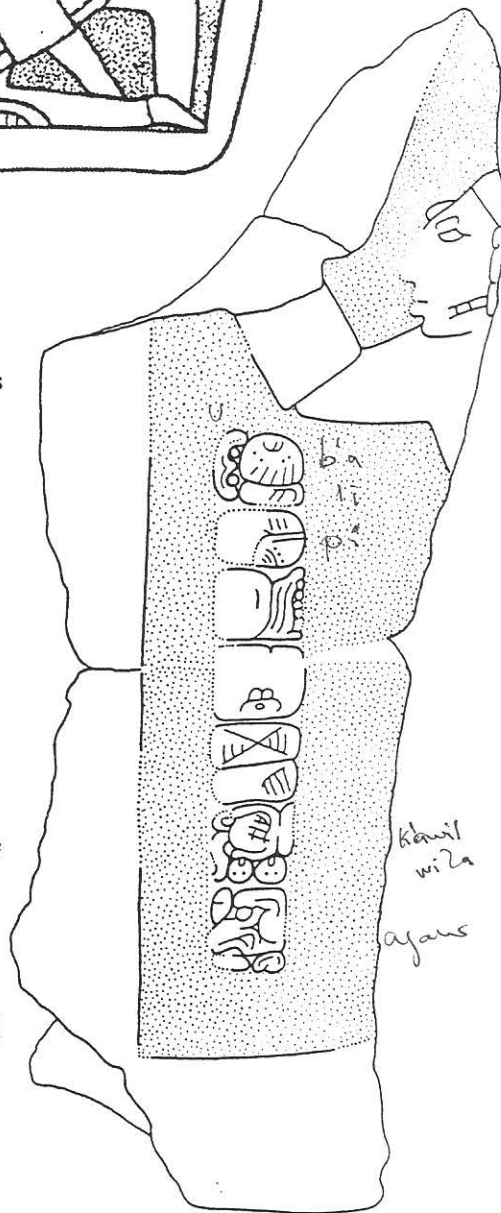
### Ichmul, Panel 1 (Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

Ukit Kan Le'k, the king of Ek Balam, is mentioned in the inscription of the frame of this panel, as Daniel Graña-Behrens first noticed. The context of the reference is not clear because of the eroded state of the text. In addition to this reference he is probably mentioned again in the glyphic clause that identifies the left ball player after the *ub'aah* expression. Ichmul is located 25 kilometers away from Ek Balam, almost half way to Chichen Itza. At this time, Ichmul, which also has its own Emblem Glyph, is clearly associated with Ek Balam, probably as an ally or as a vassal polity.

### Ek Balam, Misc. Text 1 (Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

This text was carved on a strange object of cylindrical shape. The object has the remains of an inner handle at one of its ends, as if it were thought to be worn as a piece for the protection of the arm. In fact, the image preserved on the object depicts a person wearing an object much like this on his right arm. However, the precise function is a mystery. The object appeared in what seems to have been a midden of luxury goods. The deposit is highly problematic, and nothing can be inferred about its function from the context it was found. However, there are some clues in the text itself. According to the inscription, the object is called *u-b'a-li pi-[TUN]-ni*, an expression that can be transliterated as *ub'aal pi[tz] tuun* '(it is) the ball-playing stone protector of'. Regrettably, the name of the owner is lost (there is a law in epigraphy that the most important information always is gone). The text ends in ... *k'awiil ajaw*, possibly the name of a king, or a reference to a polity called ... *K'awiil*.

The ball game played an important role at Ek Balam. At the center of the site, in the Main Plaza, there is a prominent Ballcourt, which originally had two hieroglyphic rings, one of them now looted, the other one broken in several fragments and badly preserved. It was probably during a ball game at that Ballcourt when this interesting object broke.



**Ek Balam, Capstone 18, 9.18.3.15.11 11 Chikchan 9 Yax, (July 29, 794)**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

Found inside Room 62 on the east side of the Acropolis, the text says: *11 Chikchan tu['] 9 Yax winik wal 4 tuun [9 Ajaw] ma[h]ka[j] way[i]l uk'aal Ukit Kan Le'k Too'k'* '(On) 11 Chikchan, in the 9th of month Yax, (in) the time of the 4 tuun (in 9 Ajaw) was closed the chamber, the enclosure of Ukit Kan Le'k Too'k'.' (The Long Count of this date is 9.18.3.15.11, corresponding to July 29th, 794). Notice that the name of the king appears here in its full form, as Ukit Kan Le'k Too'k', as we saw on the Hieroglyphic Serpents.

Although always following the same rigid structure typical of this kind of dedicatory texts, this text is innovative in many respects. First, the calendrical information is now expanded by the use of the Short Count, with the expression of the current Tun and K'atun. With the exception of the Mural of the 96 Glyphs from very end of the 17th K'atun (13 Ajaw), all the dates associated with Ukit Kan Le'k occurred within the 18th K'atun (11 Ajaw). A simple Calendar Round would have been clear and precise enough to indicate a date during Ukit Kan Le'k's rule. But after the beginning of the 19th K'atun (9 Ajaw), the possibility of repetition of identical dates within Ukit Kan Le'k's life increased. Therefore the scribes of Ek Balam began to provide additional information in order to render almost unequivocal dates.



It should also be noted that the month is written in an unusual way, as YAX-WINIK-ki, *Yax winik*, instead of the expected spelling YAX-SIHOM-ma. *Winik* is one of the words for 'month' documented in the inscriptions. The form *winik* is Classic Western Ch'olan, while *winal* can be reconstructed as the Classic Eastern Ch'olan form (Lacadena and Wichmann 2002). Although very poorly attested, by Classic times in northern Yucatan the word for 'month' was *winik*. This may have been because of Western Ch'olan influence, or because it was actually the original vernacular Yucatecan term. Examples of WINIK-ki and wi-ni-ki in contexts where 'month' is expected are attested at Chichen Itza (such as the Casa Coolorada Inscription). If *winik* simply means 'month' on this capstone it would imply that the Ek Balam scribe was writing the Yucatec name of the month, *Yax* (then, rather *Ya'ax*). This is in accord with other rare but extremely important Yucatec month names, such as K'AN-K'IN-ni for *K'ank'in* instead of *Uniiw* at Xcalumkin, and clearly anticipates the later examples of *wo*, *Wof'* at Chichen Itza.

Finally, there is a new expression that shows up for the first time in this text: The use of *(ti) wal*, probably to be translated as 'in times of', 'in the time of', always preceding the Tun notation. This expression will later become more common in this area of Northern Yucatan, first at Ek Balam, later at Chichen Itza. The texts of the Puuc region only rarely use this expression. In the Chilam Balam of Tizimin, a manuscript from a town only 20 km north of Ek Balam, we find this *ti ual* expression in the same position, preceding Tun dates (as in *ti ual hopiz tun* 'in times of the fifth tun'). It may be significant that this expression does not show up in the Chilam Balam Book of Chumayel, which comes from a different region in Yucatan. Modern Ch'orti' has a similar expression, *tawar* (*ta-war*) with the same meaning, as in *tawarto* 'still on time' (to 'still').

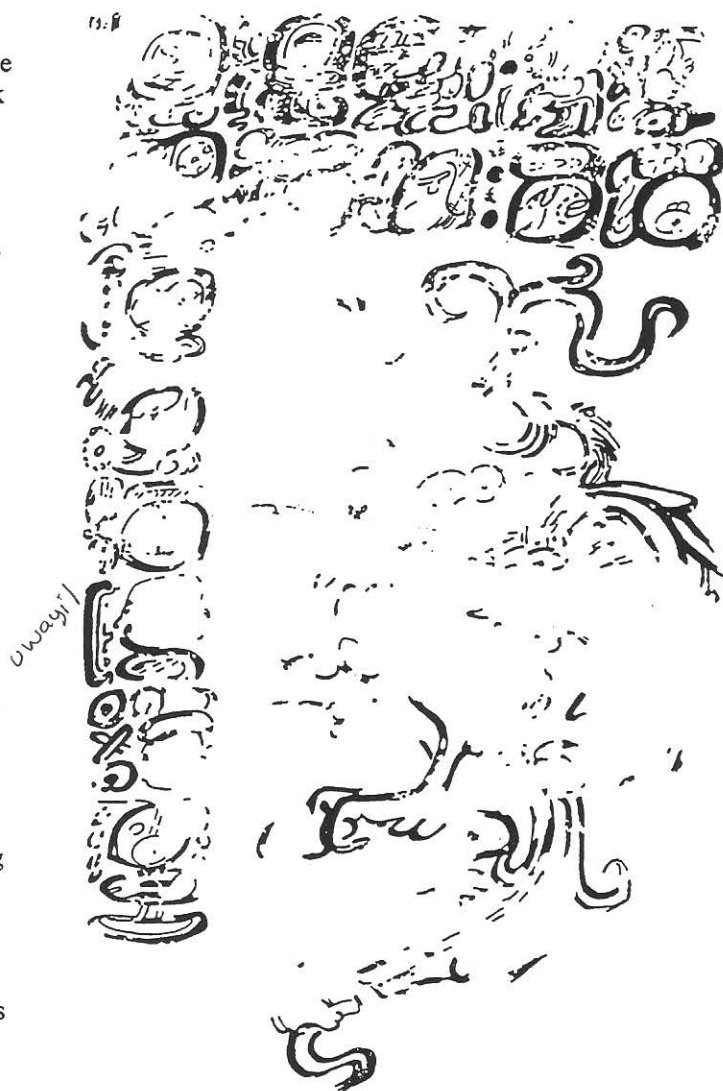
### Ek Balam, Capstone 19

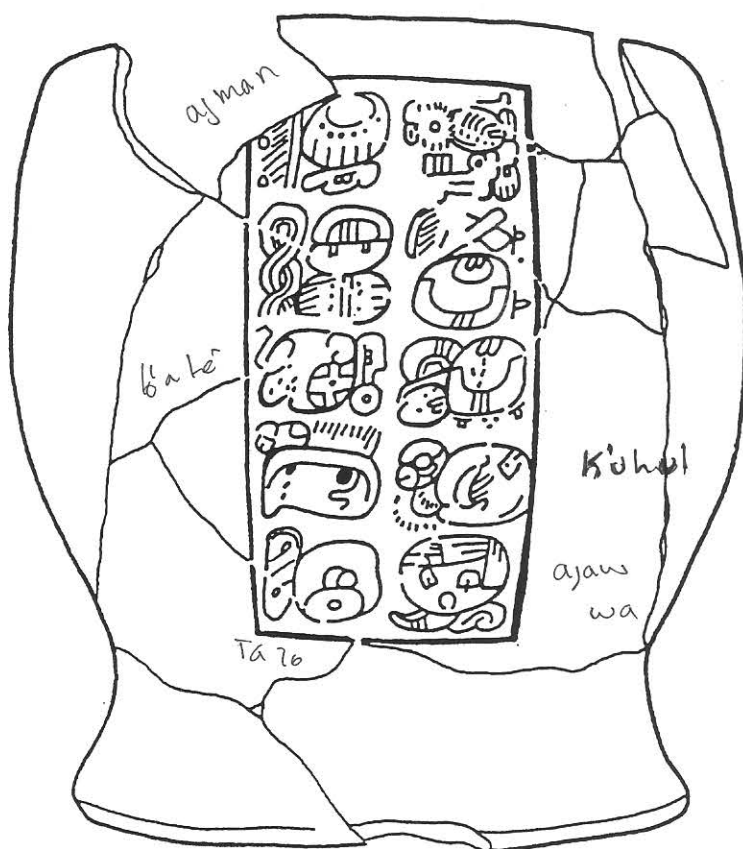
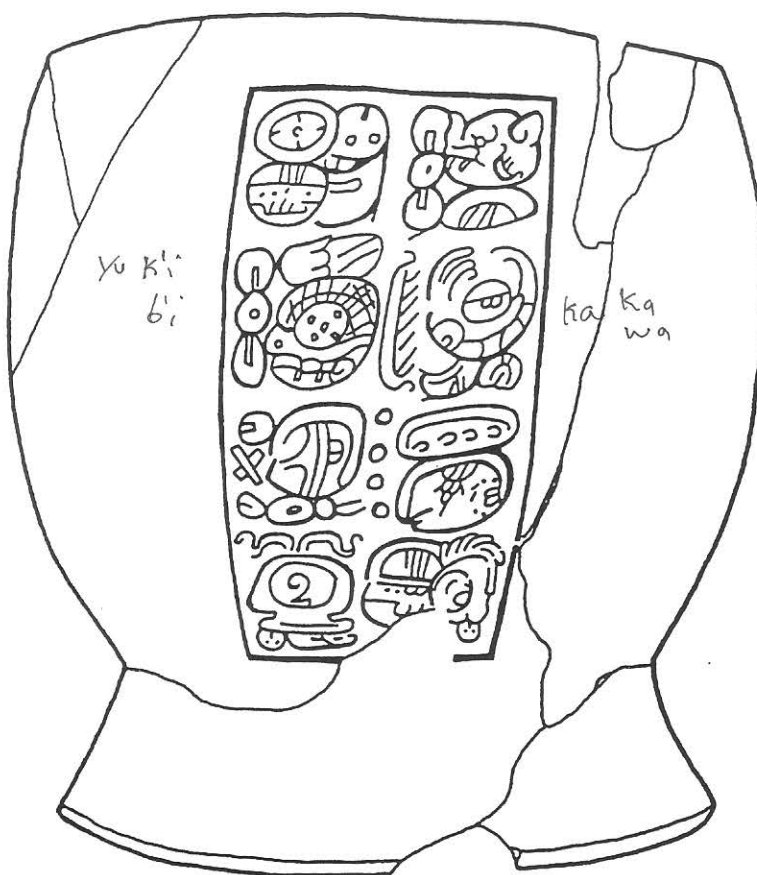
(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

This capstone is important because it refers to the dedication of the most famous building of the Ek Balam Acropolis. This is the building with the wonderfully well preserved stucco facade in the Chenes style, found and carefully excavated during three field seasons by the Mexican archeologists Leticia Vargas and Victor Castillo.

Framing as usually an image of a deity, in this case a bird-like Itzamnaaj, the dedicatory text starts with the calendrical information, including a Calendar Round and—again, as on Capstone 18—, a Short Count, naming the current Tun (preceded by *wal*) and K'atun ajaw. Regrettably the coefficients are not well preserved, so the exact date cannot be safely determined. However, the remaining bars indicate that the date of dedication surely fell in the three year span between 9.18.11.0.1 and 9.18.14.0.0, the 12th, 13th or 14th tun of K'atun 9 Ajaw.

The dedication formula this time contains the proper name of the building, spelled as SAK-xo-ko-NAAH, *Sak Xok Naah*. It can be translated as 'The White House of Counting' or 'White House of Reading', or even 'The White House of Obedience/Respect', depending on the meaning of *xo-ko*, *xok*, intended here. A building with this name appears at the site of K'abah. Finally, after the reference to the covering (*mahkaj*) of the building, the text mentions its owner, Ukit Kan Le'k, *Tal[o]l ajaw* 'king of Talol'. His name clause includes two appellatives of supernaturals.





### Ek Balam, Tomb 1

It is not known yet when Ukit Kan Le'k died. His death took place not too long after the dedication of the *Sak Xok Naah*, because the stucco of the facade still was relatively new without showing much evidence of erosion when the building was sealed and covered by the Maya of Ek Balam. After his death, the body of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok', the *kalo'mte'*, the holy lord of Talol, was placed to rest in the second room in the *Sak Xok Naah*, on a jaguar pelt and inside a special funerary enclosure that was built for him in that room, accompanied by incredibly rich offerings: Alabaster and ceramic vessels, heavy flints, wonderfully carved shells with the images of skulls, deers and shrimps; probably a shell-mosaic shield; animal and human sacrificial victims; even a frog made of gold. Ek Balam Tomb 1 is the richest funerary tomb ever found North of Calakmul. We know that Ukit Kan Le'k is the occupant of the tomb because among the objects found inside the burial chamber there are four providing his name. The whole building was sealed and carefully covered with *sascab* and stones, finally protected by an exterior wall. The work was so carefully executed that after more than a thousand years the archaeologists still found the stucco of the facade and roof intact.

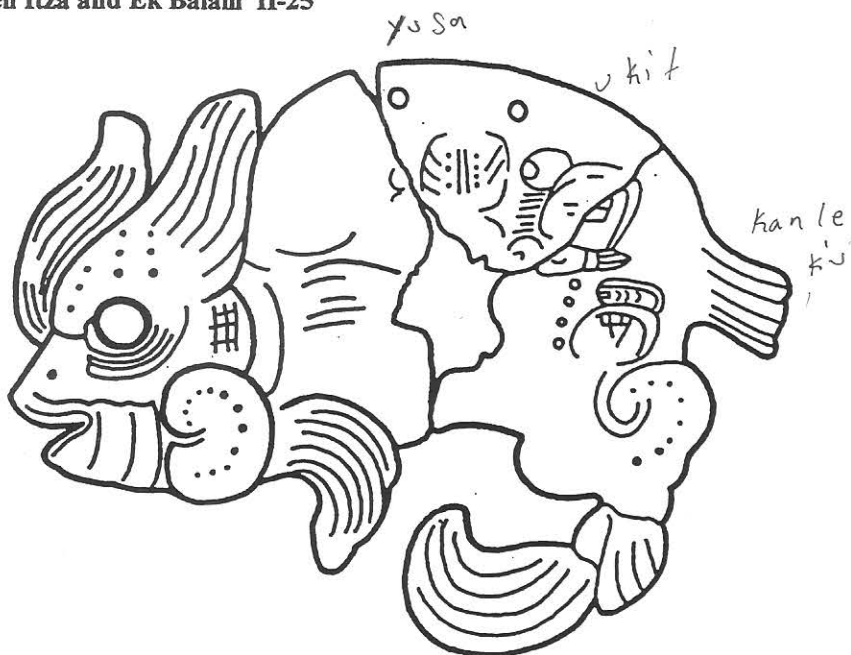
### Ek Balam, Misc. Text 5

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)  
This stuccoed vessel was placed to the left of Ukit Kan Le'k's skull. Its text leaves no doubt that it is the cacao drinking-vessel of Ukit Kan Le'k, holy lord of Ek Balam. Many of the titles that appear in this inscription are the same as those seen on the Mural of 96 Glyphs. Some of the titles, such as *Ch'ak o'hl B'ate' Pitzil*, will appear later at Chichen Itza. Notice the head variant used for the logograph **AJAW**, another feature anticipating later scribal practice from Chichen Itza.

**Ek Balam, Miscellaneous Text 6**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

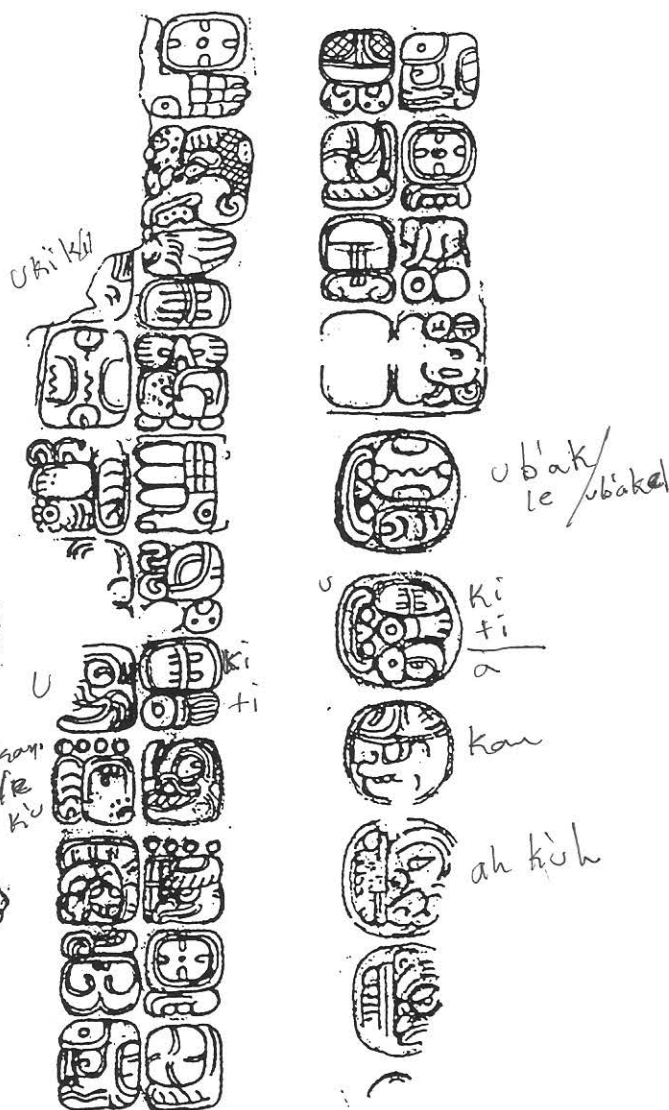
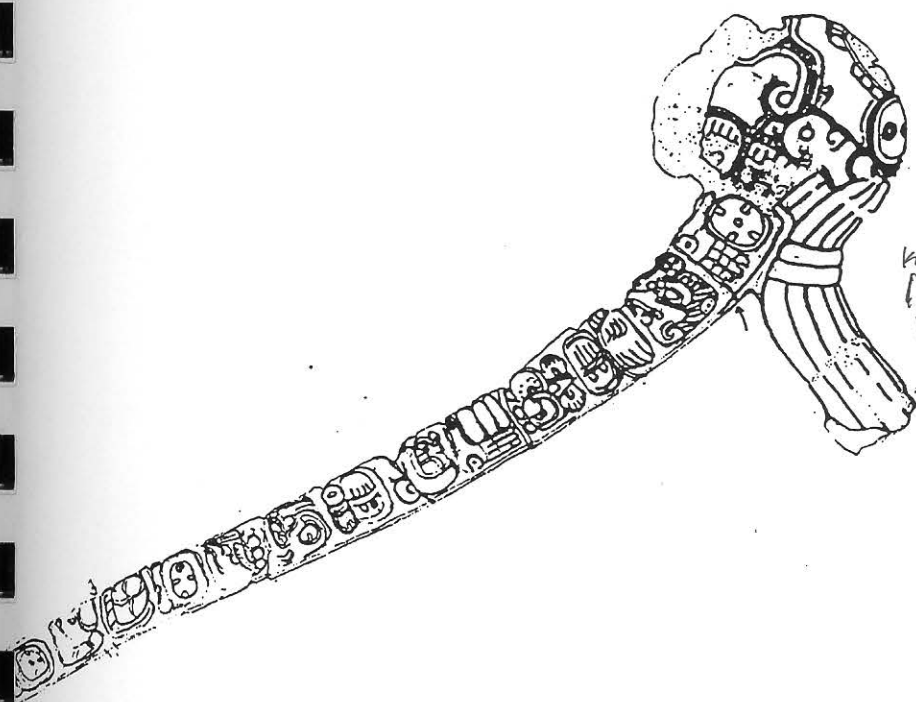
This finely carved image of a shell fish was found on the breast of the corpse and was probably worn as a necklace. Its short inscription names the object and the owner—Ukit Kan Le'k—, in a typical formula of possession. The object is probably spelled as *yu-sa*?, and can be related to Colonial Yucatec *uzcay*, an entry given by Landa for a type of fish, the trout or "corbina".

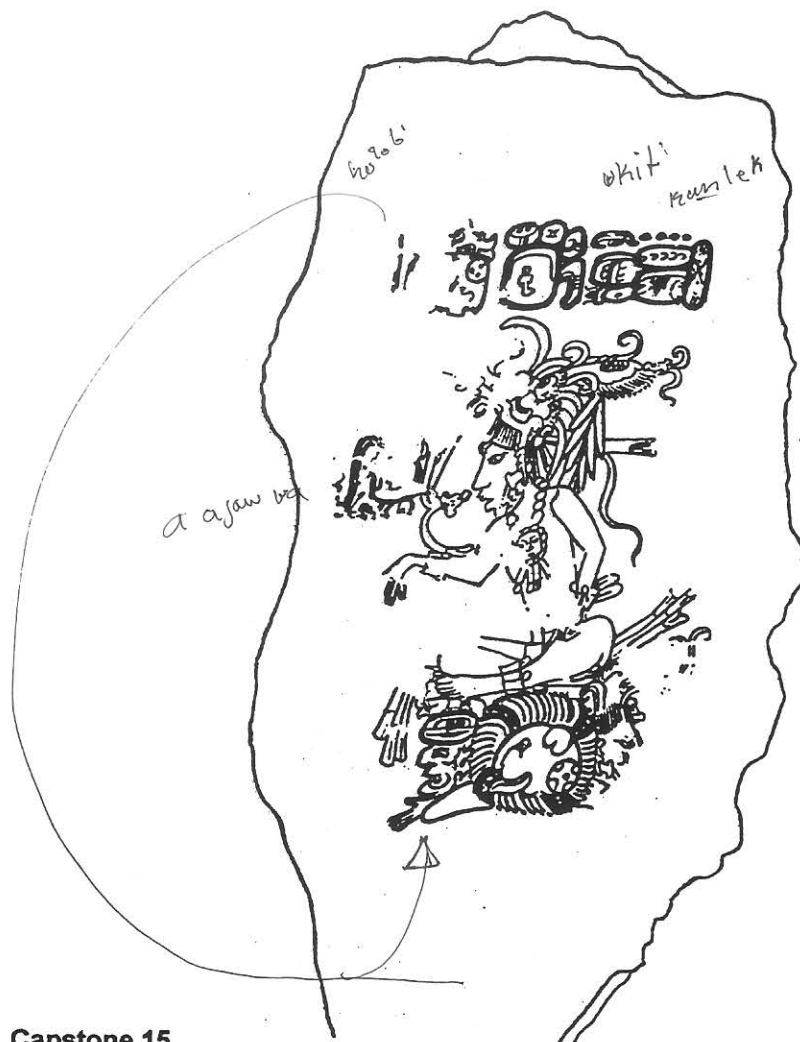
**Ek Balam, Miscellaneous Text 7**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

According to Leticia Vargas and Victor Castillo, the Mexican archaeologists who discovered and excavated the tomb, this carved bone — a human femur — was probably held in the left hand of the corpse. Although the text is long, it is not too difficult to understand. The text begins with a possessed noun *u-ch'i?-ki B'AAK*, *uch'ik? b'aak* 'the bone-perforator?' of Ukit Kan Le'k, lord of Talol. Ukit Kan Le'k bears a long sequence of titles that includes a reference to an impersonation (*ub'aahil a'n*) of a supernatural. The details of this phrase still remain opaque.

The most interesting sentence, however, appears at the end, in a separate secondary text. It states that it is *u-B'AAK-le*, *ub'aak[e]l* 'the (physical) bone' of a person called *u-ki-ti-a AHKAN*, Ukit Ahkan. This personage bears the *ajk'uh* title, probably meaning 'priest'. Who was this person? Alfonso thinks that this individual might be the same one that is referred to as the father of Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' on the Mural of Room 22. If so, this bone-perforator is a relique of Ukit Kan Le'k's ancestor. DNA analysis could help us to verify or discard this hypothesis.





### Ek Balam, Capstone 15

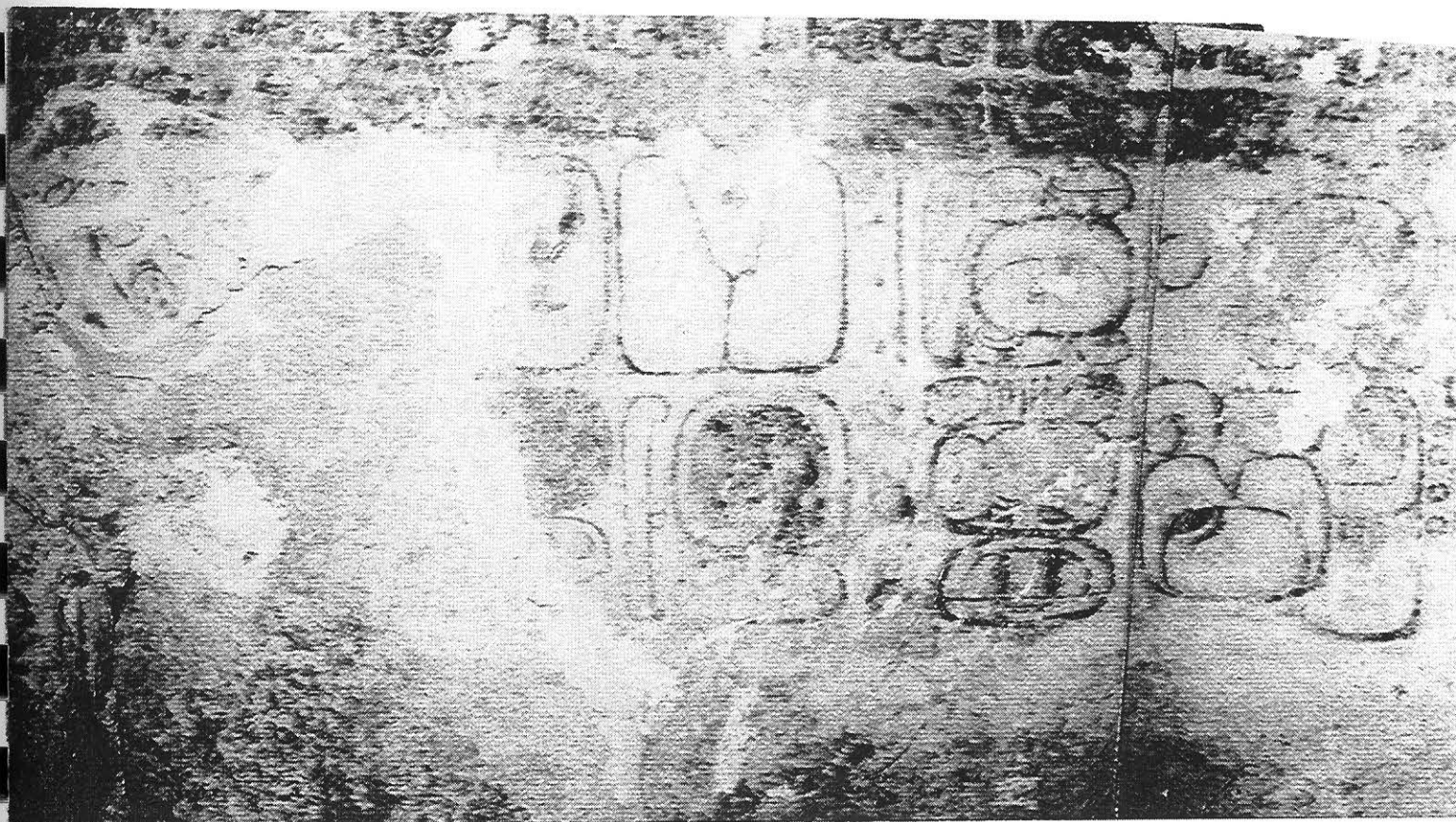
(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

This capstone was found associated to the room where Ukit Kan Le'k' was entombed inside the Sak Xok Naah. This capstone is very different of the other capstones found at the site. Instead of the usual figures of K'awiil or the avian manifestation of Itzamnaaj what is shown now is the image of the Maize God. It is also different from the other capstones in the absence of any reference to the dedication of a building. The capstone is lacking a date, and there is no reference to any constructional activity, nor any mention of the kind of structure built. It seems that the capstone was painted as part of the ritual paraphernalia accompanying the funerary ceremonies for Ukit Kan Le'k. The depiction of the Maize God on this capstone, literally floating over the tomb is clearly related to the belief of the Maya concerning death and rebirth.

At the same time, the capstone and its image present a more complex message than simply a reference to the resurrection of the Maize God. The associated texts help to understand the meaning of this scene. A first text consisting in a single block placed in front of the face of the Maize God says a-AJAW-wa, *ajaw* '(he is) the king'. A second text over the image reads HO'-?-lu?-NAL AJAW-wa u-ki-ti KAN-le-ku-TOK', *Ho'...lnal ajaw Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'* '(At) *Ho'...lnal* there is the king Ukit Kan Le'k Tok'.' The glyphic *Ho'...lnal* is also the location on which the figure is seated. The mouth of the Maize God is peculiar. Vera Tiesler, the bioarcheologist of Ek Balam Project, reported that Ukit Kan Le'k's mouth was probably asymmetrical because of a deforming abscess and congenit prognatism (oh Alfonso, I have no idea what these words mean, NG). Although idealized, the face of the Maize God probably is modeled after the physical features of the king's face. In sum, as the texts state and the representation suggests, the depicted personage is actually the king Ukit Kan Le'k Tok' himself, idealized and deified as the Maize God.



un ajaw



3 Wayeb'

**Ek Balam, Mural del Cuarto 29-sub B, 9.18.15.9.0 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb (January 16, 806)**

(Photo courtesy of the Ek Balam Project)

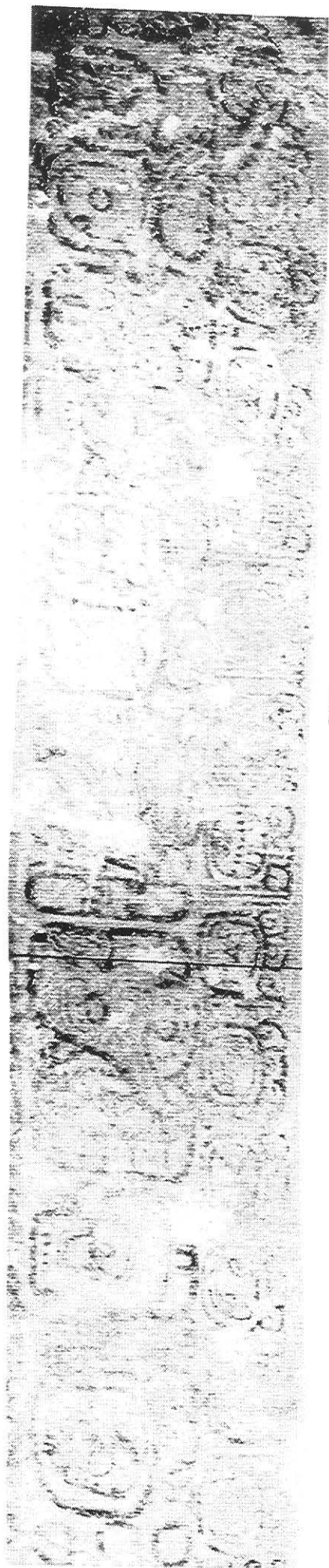
Thirty-six years after the Mural of the 96 Glyphs was painted inside Room 29-sub, a second glyphic mural was placed below it. Unfortunately the event and its protagonist are now lost. We can infer that some kind of ceremony related to the ball game took place because of the presence of the logograph for the ballcourt. The date 1 Ajaw 3 Wayeb' at the end of the text— corresponding to the Long Count 9.18.15.9.0 (January 16, 806)— also suggests the performance of Wayeb' and New Year ceremonies.

**Ek Balam, Mural del Cuarto 29-sub C, 9.19.3.10.14 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (January 8, 814)**

(Photo courtesy of the Ek Balam Project)

Eight years after Mural B and forty-four after the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, on 3 Hix 17 Kumk'u (corresponding to 9.19.3.10.14, January 8, 814), a third hieroglyphic mural was painted below the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, to the right of Mural B. The text was never finished and tries to imitate the format of the text of the Mural of the 96 Glyphs. The text from Hieroglyphic Mural C begins in the same way with a *hu-li*, *huli* event, reporting the arrival of at least two persons at the place. One of the arriving figures is called **K'AN-<sup>2</sup>b'o-TOK'**, *K'an B'o[h]b' Tok'*. The second one is a person of the same name Chak Jutuuw Chan Ek' whose arrival is mentioned in the Mural of the 96 Glyphs. He is again related to Ukit Kan Le'k by the enigmatic 'rabbit' expression, so we can consider that he is the same person involved in the accession of Ukit Kan Le'k, now again having returned back to Ek Balam.

The text of Mural C probably refers to the accession of the new king of Ek Balam, the already mentioned K'an B'ohb' Tok', who is mentioned again at the end of the text with the *Tal[o]l ajaw* 'king of Talol' title. Forty-six years after the dedication of the Mural of the 96 Glyphs, the room continues to maintain its symbolic and political importance.

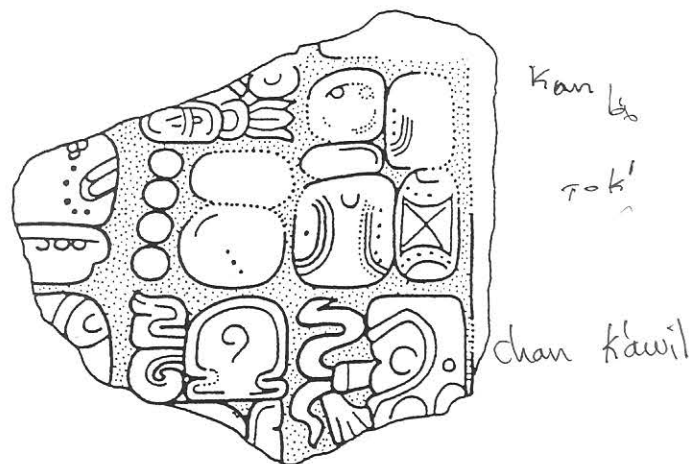




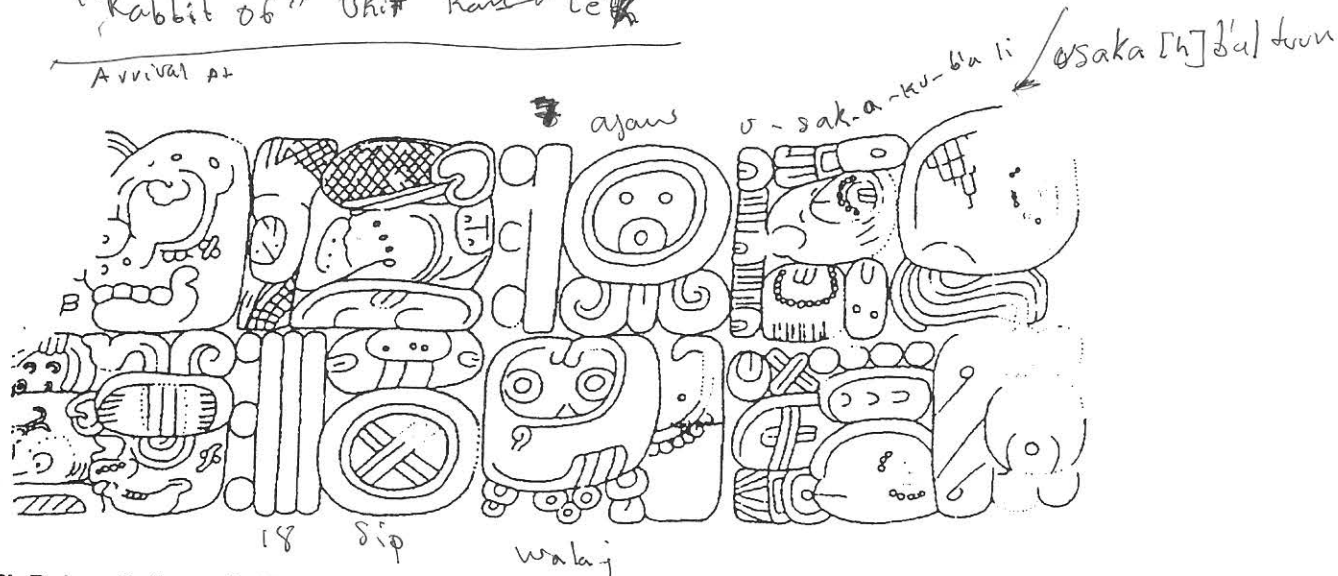
**Ek Balam, Miscellaneous Monument 4**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

This fragmented text that was found in the debris of the Acropolis has no date, but mentions the same king K'an B'ohb' Tok' that we have just seen mentioned twice on Mural C of Room 29-sub, nicely written in this case as **K'AN-na-b'o-b'o-TOK'**. Not much can be said of this text, because of its shortness. The name Ukit Kan Le'k is written before the name of the new king, perhaps embedded in his anthroponymic clause, perhaps mentioned as the syntactical object of a—now lost—verb of which K'an B'ohb' Tok' would be the subject. The glyphic stone fragment was found associated with the west raised plaza of the Acropolis, so we can be sure that after the death of Ukit Kan Le'k the Acropolis continued to be the place of symbolic and political power at Ek Balam. Unfortunately, for the moment, except for these two texts no more is known about K'an B'ohb' Tok', the probable successor of Ukit Kan Le'k.



Arrival at... The first throne of NAAR tutuw  
 'Rabbit of' Ukit Kan Le'k

**Ek Balam Column 1, 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, 830)**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

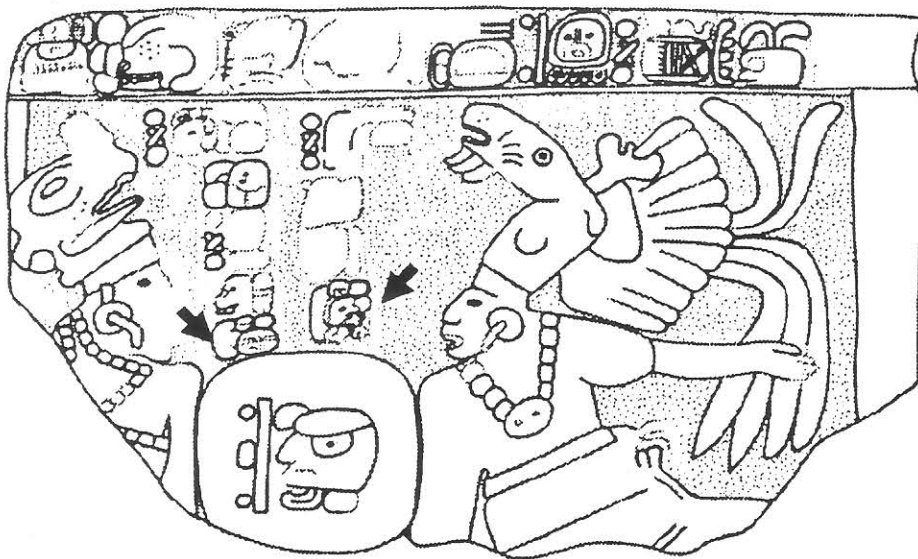
On 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, 830), reording the date with a full Long Count, a new king of Ek Balam dedicated this monument. The name of the new king is spelled as **u-ki-ti a-JOL[ku-lu?]**, probably corresponding to *Ukit Jol A[h]kul*. As expected, he carries the title of 'holy lord of Talol'. The new ruler is displayed as the seated figure at the central part of the scene, conjuring the serpent-like being that comes out from the turtle at the base of the monument. A second figure is represented on the monument, emerging from the open jaws of the supernatural being. The associated caption identifies the figure: 'these are the glyphs of Ukit Kan Le'k.'

The monument itself is called the **SAK-a[ku]-b'a-li-TUN-ni**, the *sakahk b'aal tuun* of Ukit Kan Le'k. In Yucatec *sak ahk* means "galápago", a water turtle. This turtle is the one depicted at the base of the monument and may be related to the myth of the emergence of the Maize God. The column appeared broken in the debris of the stone filling that covered the *Sak Xok Naah*, the sealed building where Ukit Kan Le'k was buried. Archaeologists suggest that it was originally placed standing in front of the covered building. It is clearly a funerary monument sponsored by Ukit Jol Ahkul in behalf of Ukit Kan Le'k, the commemoration of a ritual of conjuring of the dead ancestor.

**Ichmul Panel 2, 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, 830)**

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

The panel with its ball game scene carries the date 7 Ajaw, probably corresponding to 10.0.0.0.0 7 Ajaw 18 Sip (March 11, 830). There is a possibility that the name of the left ball-player could be read as **u-ki-ti ?-**



**JOL-?**, a spelling that closely resembles that of *Ukit Jol Ahkul*, the king of Ek Balam that sponsored Column 1 at that same date. If this is the case, this would be the second explicit mention of an Ek Balam king at Ichmul (first was Ukit Kan le'k), suggesting a continued (peaceful) relation. Note that each of the players' nominal phrases ends with an emblem glyph.

**Ek Balam, Capstone 10, 10.0.1.15.1 5 Imix 14 Kumk'u (January 1, 832)**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

This capstone was found in Room 38 of the Acropolis. Like all the other capstone texts, this is also a self-referential text referring to the construction of the structure. Although the part of the text that mentions the owner is not completely clear, it probably names Ukit Jol Ahkul. The syntax of the text is very elegant, alternating calendrical and verbal expressions in a heavily formal but fluent discourse: *5 Imix [k'i]n 14 O'h[ma[h]kaj uway[i]l uk'aal wal 2 tuun 5 ajaw ... Chan K'awiil Ukit ...* '(On) the day 5 Imix 14 Kumk'u was covered the chamber, the enclosure, (in) times of the 2 Tuun (in) 5 ajaw, of ... Chan K'awiil, Ukit ...'. The date can be safely placed in the Long Count as 10.0.1.15.1 (January 1, 832). The drawing and the execution of the glyphs are of extraordinary quality.

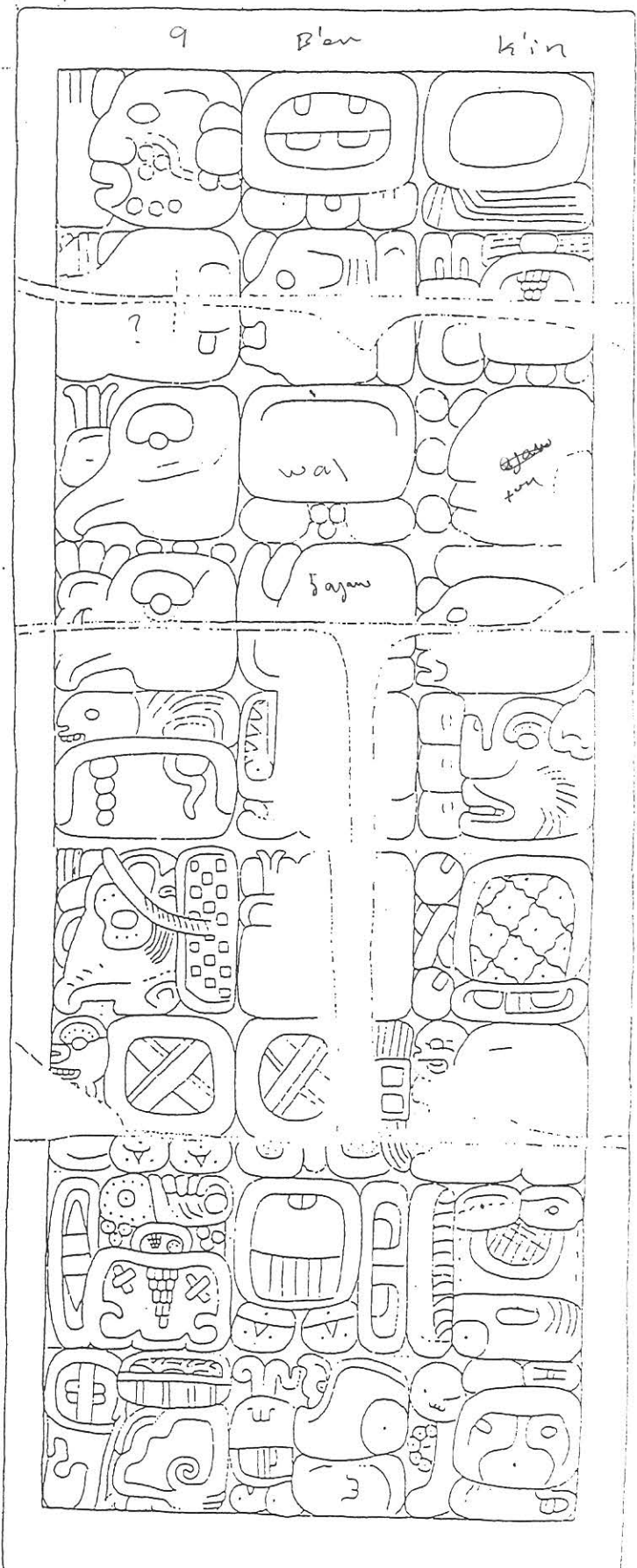


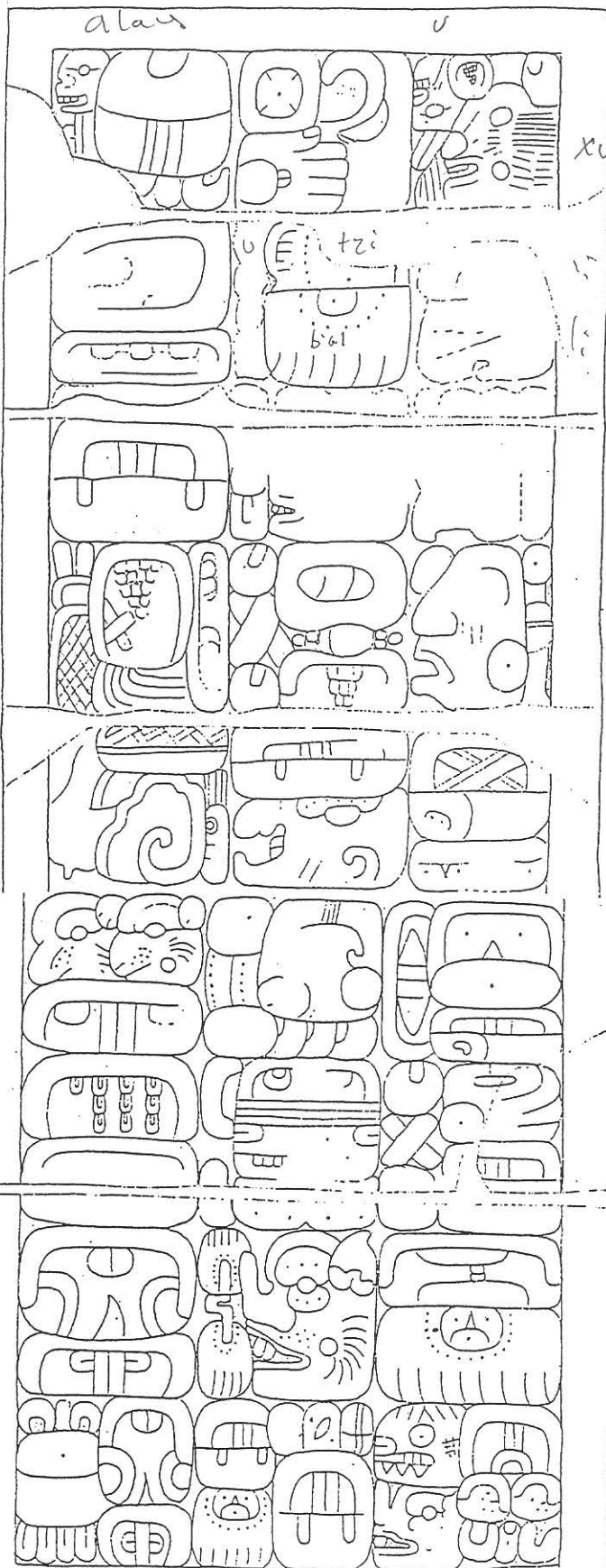
**Chichen Itza, Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jamb, West Jamb, 10.0.2.7.13 9 Ben 1 Sak**

(Drawing by Ian Graham)

The decipherment of the date of this jamb has been controversial, but a recent inspection of the original by Daniel Graña-Behrens confirmed the correctness of the decipherment proposed first by Ruth Krochock. The date is 9 Ben K'in, ? Sak, *ti wal* 3 Ajaw. This combination allows only one date, 10.0.2.7.13 9 Ben 1 Sak, which makes this the earliest known date from Chichen Itza. There is not much that can actually be said about the text of the west jamb. None of the historical individuals that would show up later in Chichen's history is mentioned here.

10.1.0.00  
10 0 3 00  
10 0 2 01





### Chichen Itza, Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jamb, East Jamb

(Drawing by Ian Graham)

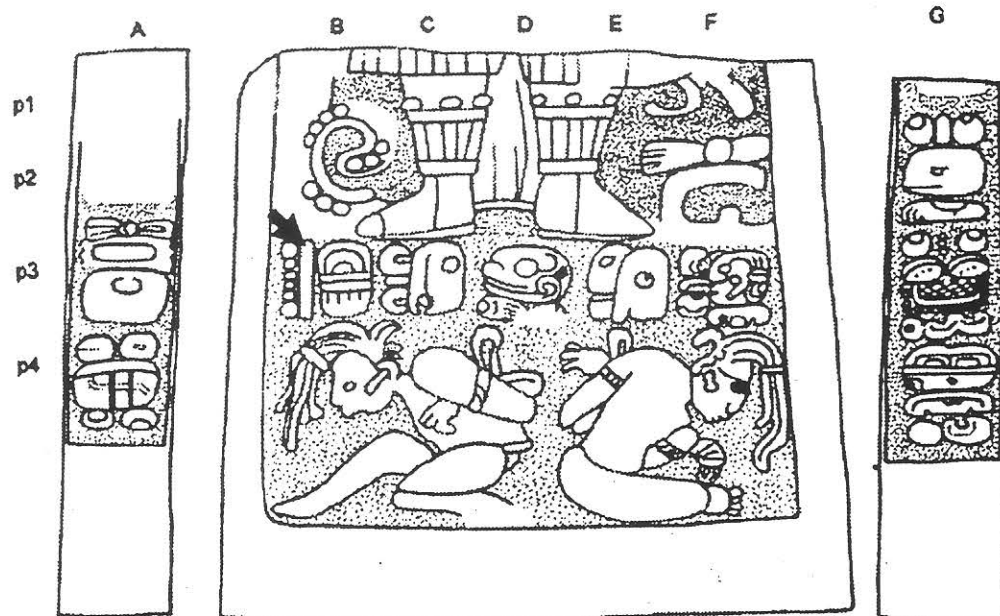
Although there is no date on this jamb, it is supposed to be associated with the same date as the west jamb. The text begins with a dedication formula and goes on to speak about the altar (?) of the house of ??, who was *u k'uhil* "the god of" an individual whose name phrase has not yet been deciphered. The text ends with a glyph that probably reads *ka-xu-pi-ya*, *ka xup-i-iy*, "and then it came to an end".

uxulw L sopulwre

### Dzilam Stela 1

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

On one of the small sides of Dzilam Stela 1 three hieroglyphic blocks are preserved which read *u-cha-nu(?) u-k'u-wi CHAN-na-wa*, "his possession is Uk'uww Chan". Uk'uww Chan is the first part of the name of a lord of Dzibilchaltun and is mentioned there on Stela 19 and an inscribed bone from a Tomb in Structure 42. The tomb was placed within Structure 42 at the end of the first construction phase, approximately at about 800 AD. The date is not only confirmed by the presence of Balancán Naranja Fino, Caribe Inciso and Cholul Acanalado ceramic groups, but also by the fact that the base of Stela 9, dated at 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pop (840) was set into the last floor of the third construction phase, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the tomb and the life of Uk'uww Chan. It also suggests a Terminal Classic date for the otherwise undated Stela 1 from Dzilam.

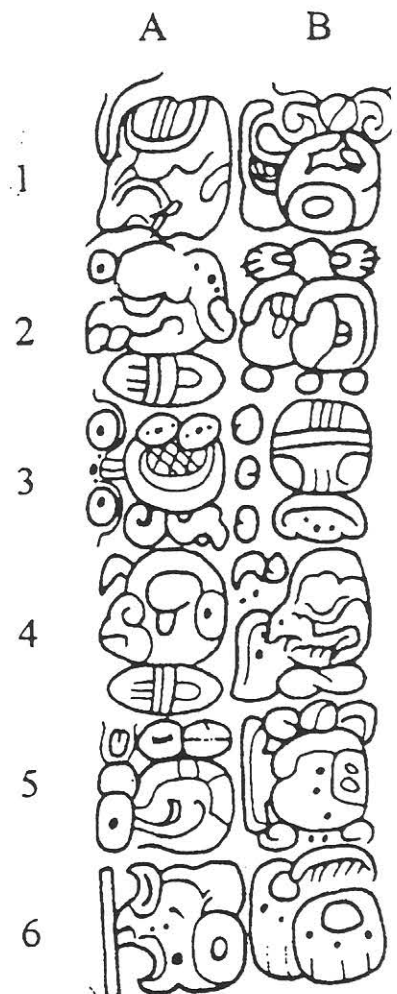
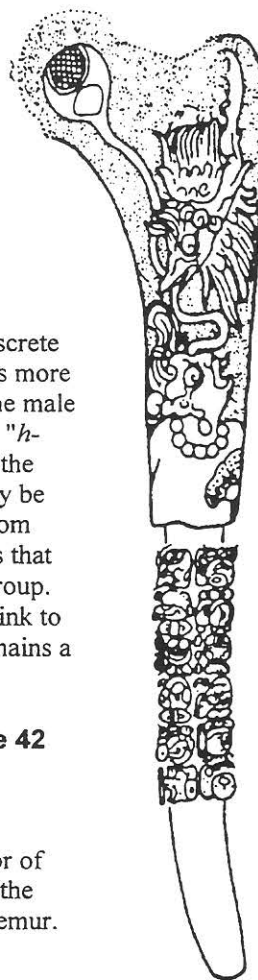


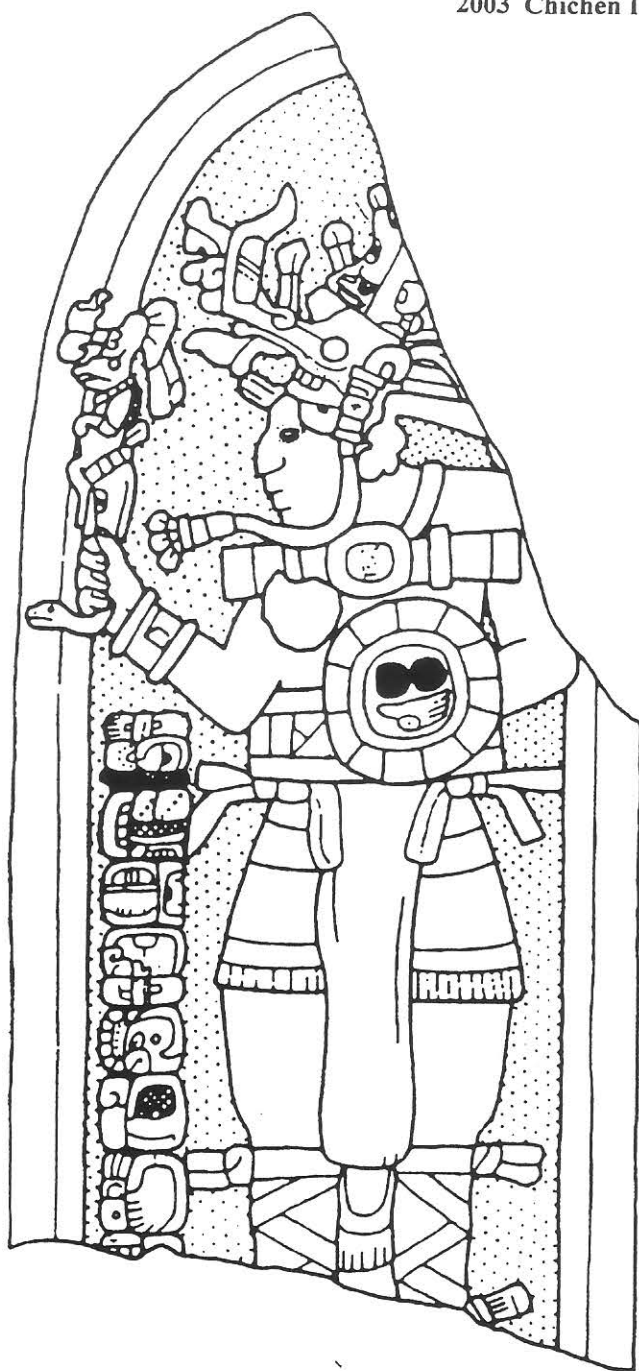
The nature of the relationship between Dzilam and Dzibilchaltun is not known. Although the *u-cha-nu?* glyph suggests that the name of the Dzibilchaltun lord is part of a captive phrase, some doubt remains over the nature of the suffix of this glyph. If this Uk'uuw Chan was not a captive (and his burial in Dzibilchaltun strongly argues that he died in his city), the relationship may have been of a completely different, perhaps even friendly nature.

Two glyph blocks are preserved on the other small side of Dzilam Stela 1. These two glyph blocks spell a title, which is also found on the Caracol disk from Chichen Itza. The lower sign under the *tza* syllable from the Dzilam stela is probably a substitution for the *a* sign found on the Caracol disk. Erik Boot considers the hieroglyph from the Caracol disk as a spelling of the expression *hi-tza-ja*, *h-itza*, "he from Itza". However, a comparison of this sign with forms of the *tza* syllable at Xcalumkin shows that the superfix is actually part of the *tza* sign and not a discrete unit. The superfix is not the *hi* syllable, which looks more like a knot. Furthermore, the abbreviated form of the male agentive, which Boot sees in the consonant *h* of his "*h-itza*" compound requires a velar spirant rather than the glottal spirant of the *hi* syllable. Although there may be no reference to the Itza in one of the hieroglyphs from Dzilam or the Caracol of Chichen Itza, it is obvious that both glyphic titles refer to the same individual or group. The passage of the Dzilam stela thus establishes a link to Chichen Itza; yet, the nature of this relationship remains a mystery.

#### Dzibilchaltun, Incised Femur from Structure 42 (Drawing by Alexander Voß)

Although this inscription carries no date, it clearly predates the Long Count 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pop recorded on Stela 9, which was set into the last floor of the third construction phase of Structure 42, where the burial urn was found that contained this inscribed femur.





The text begins with a possessed noun referring to the object itself: **u ja-chi BAAK-ki** "it is the engraved bone of", followed by the name of the possessor, Kalo'mte' Uk'uw Chan Chaak from Dzibilchaltun. The two hieroglyphs that follow his name constitute something like the emblem glyph of Dzibilchaltun. Linda Schele was the first to realize that this glyph includes the elements **ti-ho-AJAW**, and that Tiho is the Maya name of Mérida. The preceding glyph cannot be read completely, but it includes a **CHAN** serpent head. In the Chilam Balam books, the full name of Mérida is spelled as Ichcanziho or Ichcantiho. The femur has been found as part of the burial of Kalo'm Uk'uw Chan Chaak.

#### Dzibilchaltun, Stela 19

(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

Stela 19 from Dzibilchaltun carries no date, at least no date is preserved on the fragments of the stela which are left. The single column of hieroglyphs spells the name of Kalo'm Uk'uw Chan Chaak and connects the name with the Dzibilchaltun emblem glyph. The image on the stela must be a portrait of Kalo'm Uk'uw.

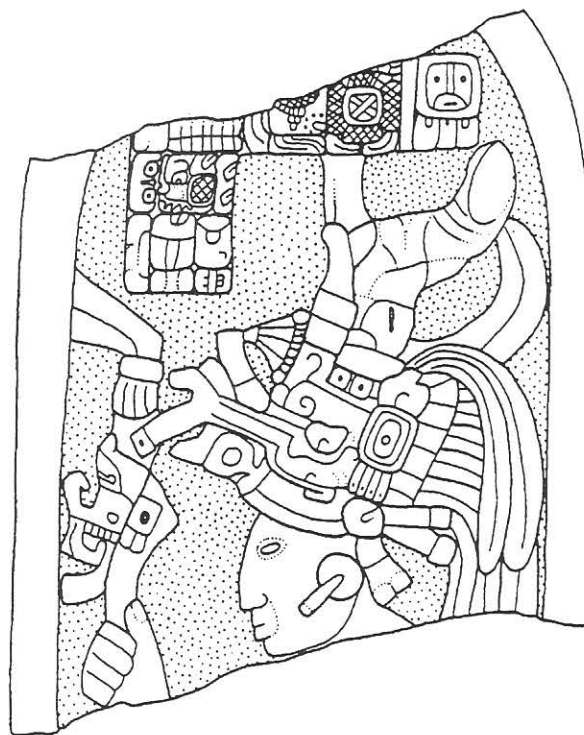
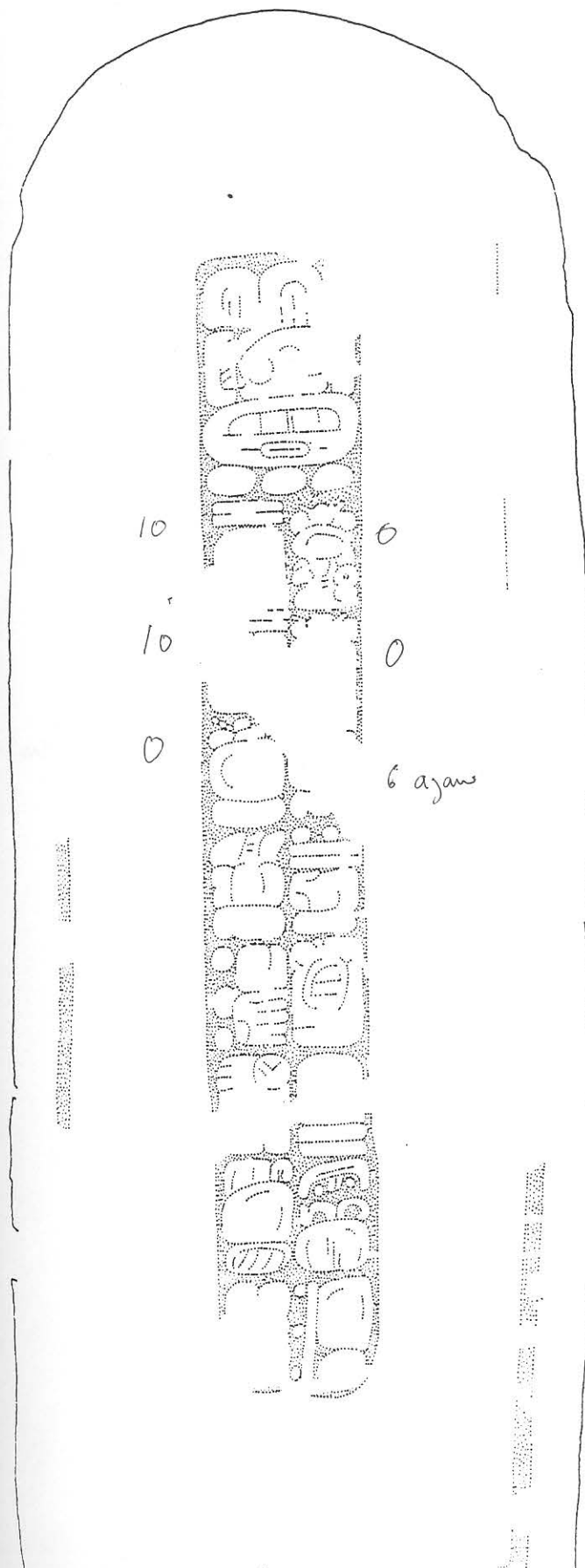
#### Kerr File 4333

This is a Chocholá-style ceramic now in the Dumbarton Oaks collection. We add this vase here only because it provides another example of the Dzibilchaltun emblem glyph. The preceding name could be that of a minor lord or of a predecessor to Kalo'm Uk'uw Chan Chaak. The presence of a Dzibilchaltun name on a Chochola style vessel





suggests that Chochola ceramics were also used as an elite ware at Dzibilchaltun. We are not exactly sure where Chochola ceramics were produced, but they had a wide distribution in northern Yucatan. Inscriptions on Chochola vessels state that they were used at Xcalumkin, Oxkintok, Ek Balam and Dzibilchaltun.



**Dzibilchaltun Stela 9, 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pop (January 18, 840)**

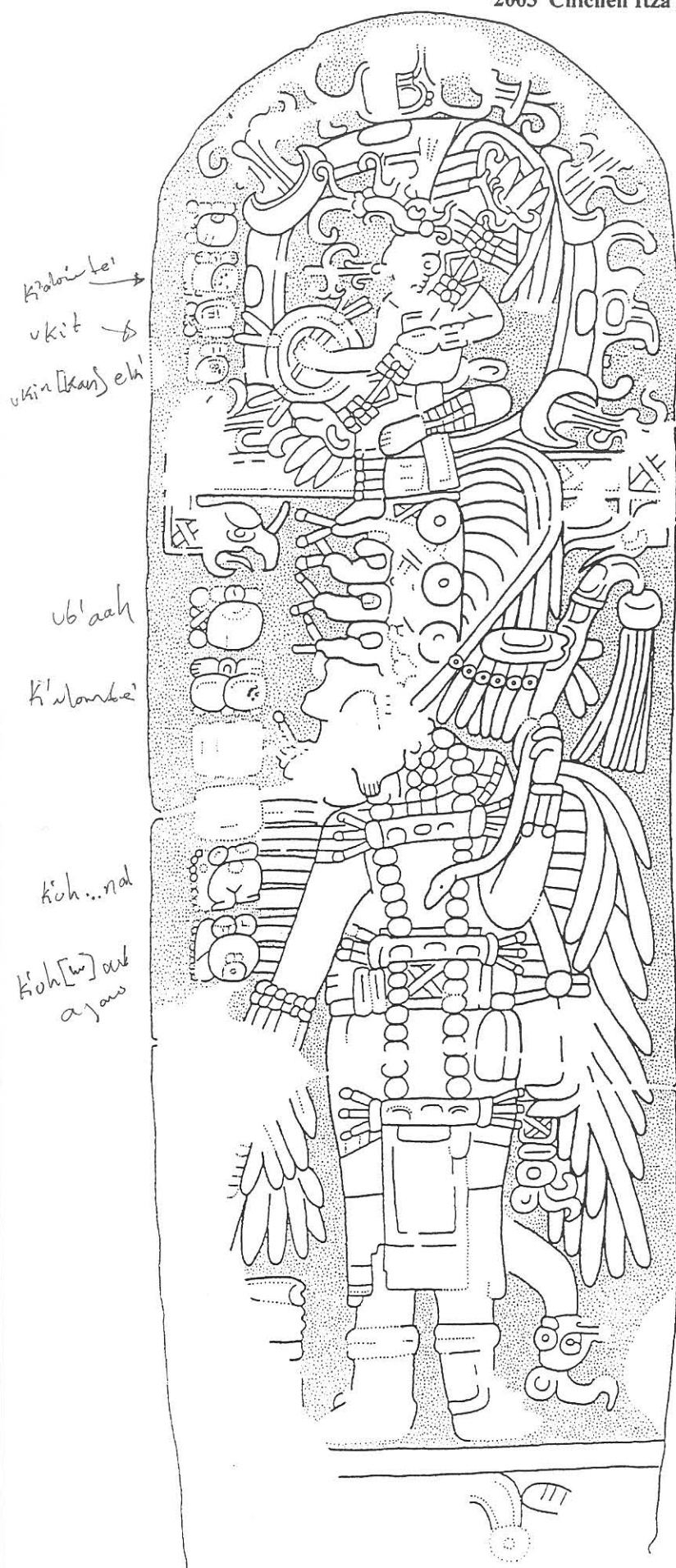
(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

Stela 9 records the date in a very peculiar way: **ti-LAM-wa 5-AJAW**, "in the middle of [K'atun] 5 Ajaw". The K'atun 5 Ajaw ended on 10.1.0.0.0, so this statement leaves no doubt that the middle of the current K'atun was intended. The preceding text records the finishing of the sculpture of the **yo-OHL-la cha-ki TUUN-ni**, "heart of Chaak-stone".

**Ek Balam Stela 1, 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pop (January 18, 840)**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

Along with the badly preserved Stela 2, Ek Balam Stela 1 for many years was the only known hieroglyphic monument from the site. Broken in three large blocks, Stela 1 was restored and re-set by the Mexican archaeological team, so now it can be admired in all its splendor. All four sides are carved with images and hieroglyphic texts. On the back side there is an Initial Series, and although it is badly eroded, all of its constituents can still be recognized. The date is most likely 10.0.10.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pop (January 18, 840). A second Initial



Series was carved on the left side, but regrettably it cannot be reconstructed. On the front of the monument a lord is depicted wearing a mask, holding the K'awiil scepter and probably scattering over an altar. In front of his head a glyphic caption states that *ub'aah kalo'mte' ... k'uh...nal k'uh[ul] Tal[o]l ajaw* '(this) is the image of the *kalo'mte'* ... K'uh...nal, holy lord of Talol.' This is a new king of Ek Balam, probably the one that succeeded Ukit Jol Ahkul.

Over the image of the king we can see a second personage sitting on a celestial throne, holding a shield and a ceremonial spear. He is surrounded by what iconographers have called an 'ancestor cartouche', well known from the Southern Lowlands and the iconography of Chichen Itza. The 'ancestor' of the current king is named in the text carved in front of him: *Ub'aah k'uh[ul] kalo'mte' Ukit [Kan] Le'k* 'it is the image of the holy *kalo'mte'* Ukit Kan Le'k.' Like the other known kings of Ek Balam that followed Ukit Kan Le'k on the high throne of the Talol kingdom — K'an B'ohb' Too'k' and Ukit Jol Ahkul —, this new king also regards Ukit Kan Le'k as an important ancestor.

Although incomplete, the name of this new king of Ek Balam has been related by several epigraphers with the Talol lord mentioned on Halakal Lintel 1, the famous K'ihnich Junpik Tok' K'uh...nal identified by David

Stuart. Both monuments, Ek Balam Stela 1 and Halakal Lintel 1 are separated by thirty years. It is not impossible that both individuals are indeed the same person. However, the answer to this question depends on the interpretation of the information of the texts from Ek Balam Capstones 1 and 2. The date of the capstones falls between Ek Balam Stela 1 and the date of the Halakal Lintel, and the different name mentioned on the capstones could be an argument against this idea.

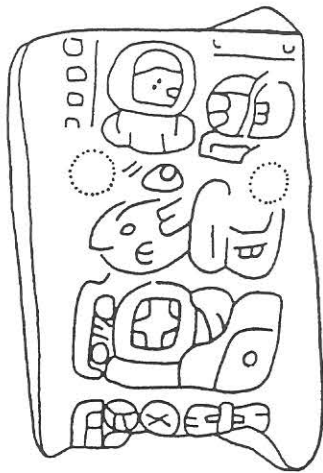
**Ek Balam, Capstones 1 and 2,  
10.0.11.11.10 11 Ok 13 Keh (August  
30, 841)**

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

These two capstones were found outside the Acropolis, associated with the rooms of the upper construction of the Ballcourt, in a late remodeling of the structure. Capstone 1 carries the date [11 Ok] 13 Chak Siho'm wal 12 tuun ti 5 ajaw, corresponding to the Long Count 10.0.11.11.10 (August 30, 841), half a year after the dedication of Stela 1. The date of Capstone 2 cannot be reconstructed. Both capstones refer to the dedication of the building using the same formula of *ma[h]kaj uway yotoot* 'was covered the chamber of the house of', followed by the name of the owner, in both cases a person called *tz'i-b'a-ma TUN-ni*, *Tz'[i]hb'am Tuun*. We are not sure about who was this Tzh'ihb'am Tuun. If he was a new king of Ek Balam, the king of Stela 1 and the king mentioned on Halakal Lintel 1



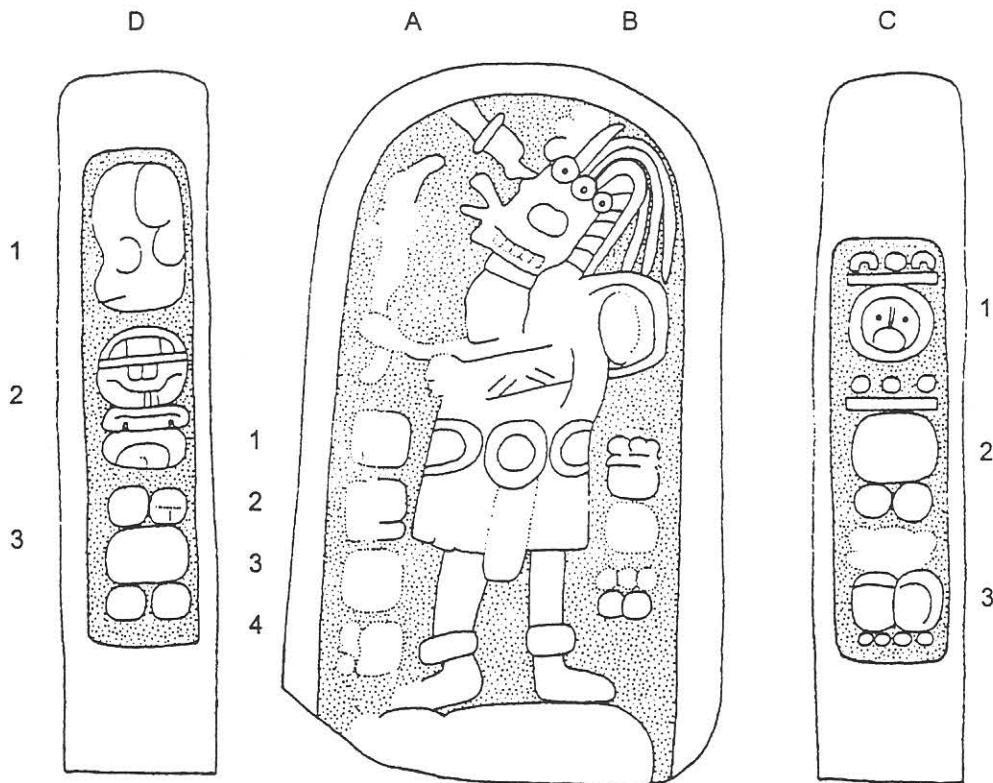
cannot have been one and the same person. However, his name is not followed by the Ek Balam Emblem Glyph, so he may also have been a member of the nobility rather than the king. Yet, as a caveat we should keep in mind that Ukit Kan Le'k in some texts also lacks the Emblem Glyph, so the absence of this title cannot be used as concluding evidence. The fact that the capstones were not found in the Acropolis is additional evidence that Tz'ihb'am Tuun was not a king but a subordinate in some way related to the Ballcourt building, perhaps a high official in charge of its maintenance. Another suggestion proposed by Victoria Bricker is that Tz'ihb'am Tuun may name not a person, but an object, a 'painted' or 'written stone'.



### Ek Balam, Miscellaneous Text 2

(Drawing by Alfonso Lacadena)

This shell broke in two pieces while it was carved. It was thrown in a special midden of luxury goods along with other broken pieces, such as the ball game stone protector or a fragment of a delicately carved alabaster vessel. The shell bears the Calendar Round 9 Kawak 7 K'ank'in, for which three positions in the Long Count can be suggested: 9.18.2.0.19 (October 15, 792), 10.0.14.13.19 (October 2, 844) or 10.3.7.8.19 (September 19, 896). The object is called *k'an*, a word that translates as 'jewel, necklace' in Colonial Yucatec sources, and was certainly in the possession of a king because of the presence of an Emblem Glyph and a potential *kalo'mte'* title. Regrettably neither the name of the king nor the kingdom can be identified.

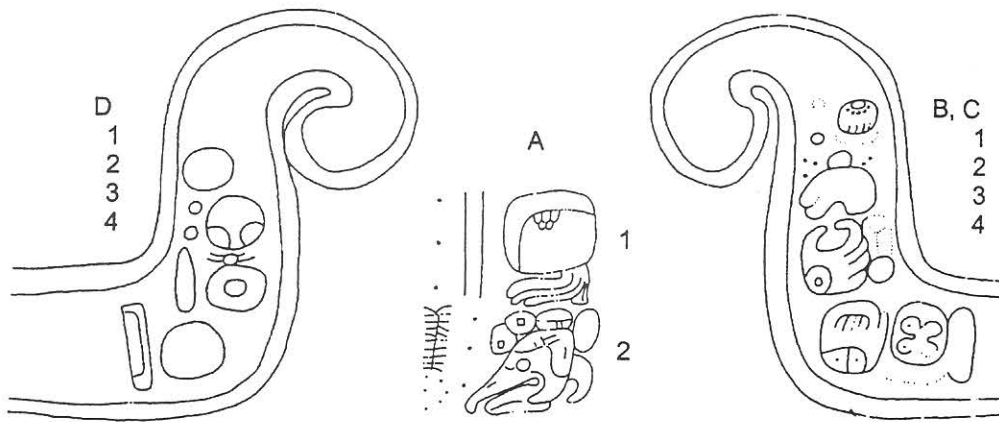


### Dzilam González Stela 2, 10.1.3.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pax (Nov. 8, 852)

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

The small stela from Dzilam González is here because of its date and because the site is located in the Northern Plains, not too far from Ek Balam. The date is written as 6 Ajaw 8 [month], but is followed by the **YAX-tzi-pi** collocation, which at Tikal, Copan, La Naya and elsewhere acts as the name for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Tun. With this additional information, there are only two alternatives for the date: 9.8.3.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Mol and 10.1.3.0.0 6 Ajaw 8 Pax. The earliest date is too early, therefore we favour the second date. On the left side of the stela probably is the name of the lord displayed and a title, which may include *ajaw*.

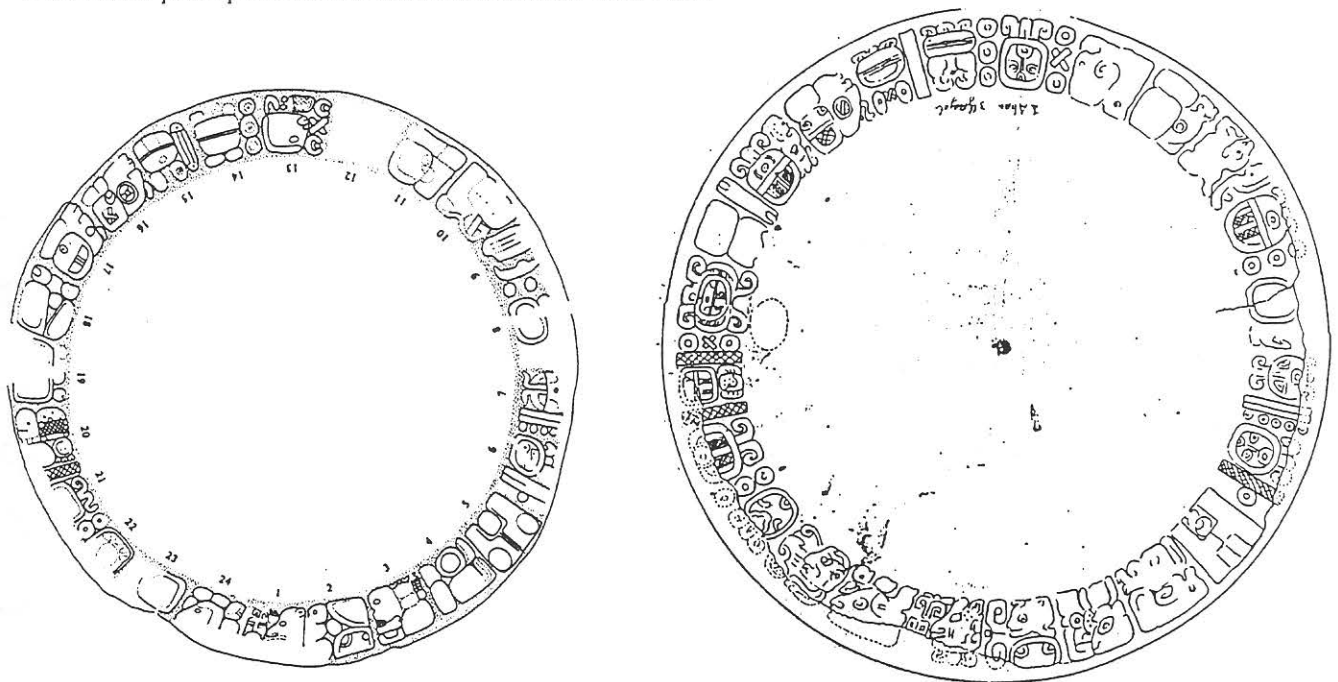




**Labná, Mask Panel Snout 10.1.13.0.0 13 Tun in 3 Ajaw (862)**

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

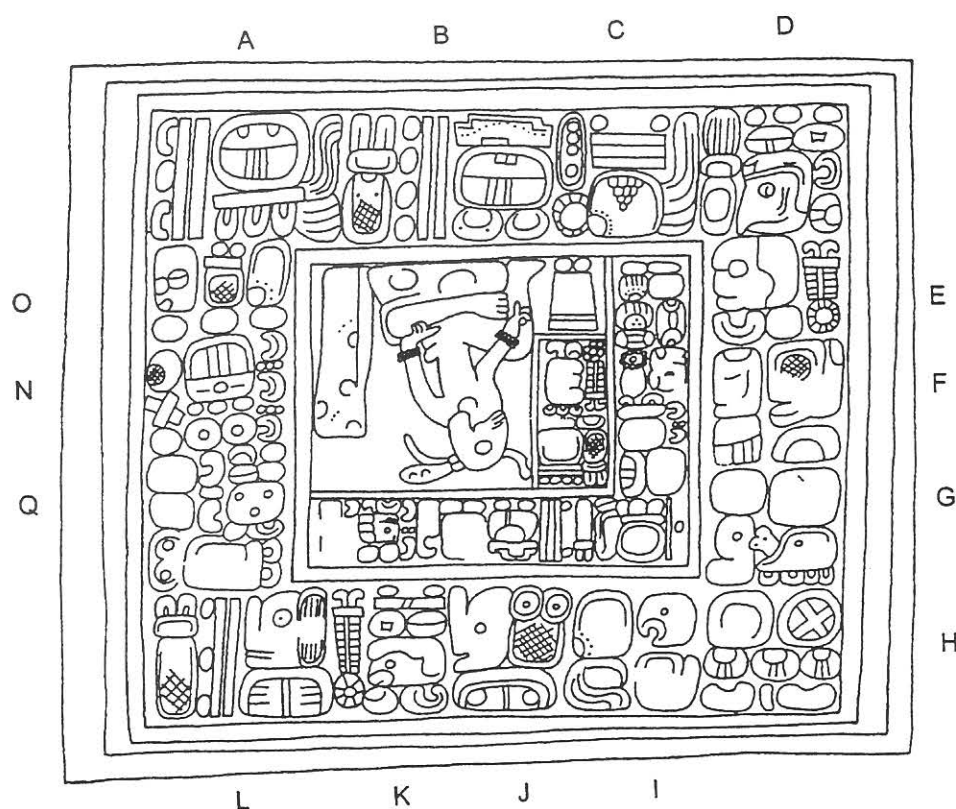
This text is mostly known for its Short Count date. However, the snout of the mask carries incised texts on both its sides. While the text on the north side is heavily eroded, the text on the south side of the snout starts with *u-ba-hi*, *u baah* "it is the image of", followed by the enigmatic T174-*chi-ta* expression also found in relation with palanquin events on the wooden lintels from Tikal.



**Chichen Itza, Ballcourt Stone, 10.1.15.3.6 11 Kimi 14 Pax (?) (November 17, 864?)**

(Drawing left: Ruth Krochock, right: Miguel Angel Fernández 1937)

This date of the Great Ball Court Stone was suggested by Ruth Krochock, Peter Schmidt and Linnea Wren. If the reading holds true, it dates the Chichen Ballcourt much earlier than Tozzer believed, and makes it a Maya monument rather than a "Toltec" ballcourt. The text contains the ballcourt glyph, but not much more of the text can be read. However, a word of caution should be added. The text is so heavily eroded that the reading of the date remains highly problematic, and at the same time we cannot even be sure that the stone was in fact found in association with the Ballcourt. Eric Thompson wrote that there was no archaeological connection between the Ballcourt Stone and Chichen Ballcourt, and that the monument was removed from another place.



**Chichen Itza, Hacienda, Water Trough Lintel,  
ca. 10.1.17.0.0**

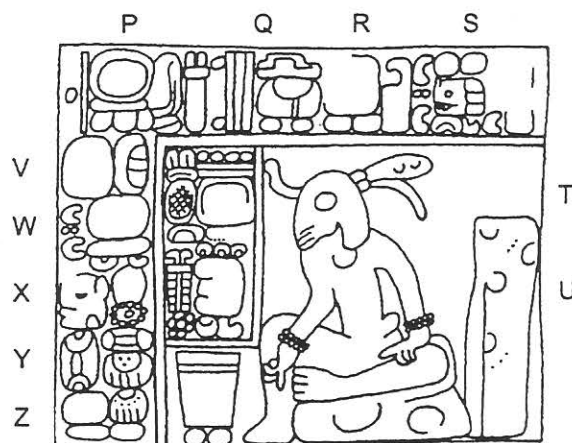
(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

The so-called water trough lintel carries a series of dates, which at first glance seem to be straightforward:

- (1) 11 Ben 14 Kumk'u *ta wal* "in the times of"  
17 Tun in 3 Ajaw,
- (2) ? 13 Sotz' in 7 Ajaw, and
- (3) 6 [day sign] in 17 Kumk'u.

Unfortunately, not a single date can be placed safely in the chronology without assuming a mistake or making a correction. The first date, 11 Ben 14 Kumk'u implies a correction of the Kumk'u coefficient to 11 or the assumption that the day sign is not Ben but something else. Even then, the resulting dates do not fall into the 17<sup>th</sup> Tun of the K'atun 3 Ajaw, which ends on 10.2.0.0.0. The other two dates are also problematic and cannot be deciphered.

There is not much we can say about the non-calendrical text of the lintel either. The main part of the text in the exterior frame of hieroglyphs contains a dedication statement, which refers to the finishing of the sculpture for the room of a divinity. This text corresponds structurally to the Monjas lintels. The inverted L-shaped cartouche of glyphs within the frame ends with a reference to *ko-ko-ma*, *kokom*, the name of one of the leading noble families in the history of Yucatan.



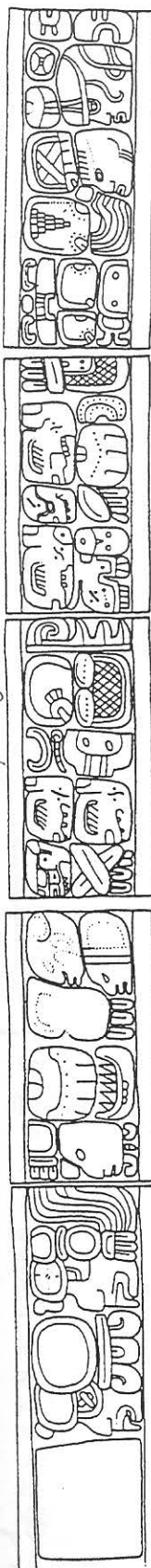
(Detail, reversed)

**Chichen Itza, Casa Colorada, Hieroglyphic Band 10.2.0.1.9 6 Muluk 12 Mak (September 5, 869)**

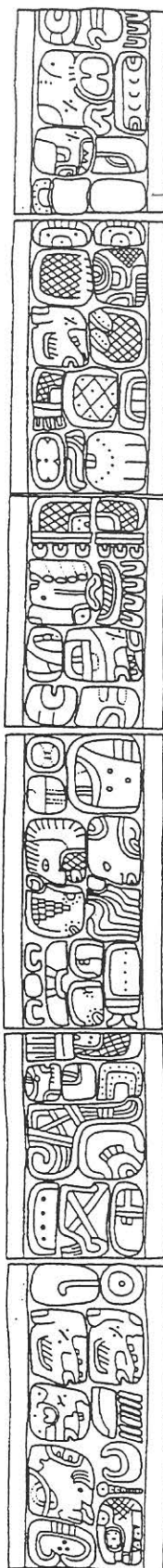
(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

This important text records a series of fire drillings. The owner of the first fire is a divinity named *ya-YAX-u-k'u-K'UK'UM?* *k'a-wi-la*, probably to be translated as *Yax U K'uk'um? K'awiil*, "green are the feathers

ya' xax k'ah' n' k'awil  
u' k'ah' n' k'awil



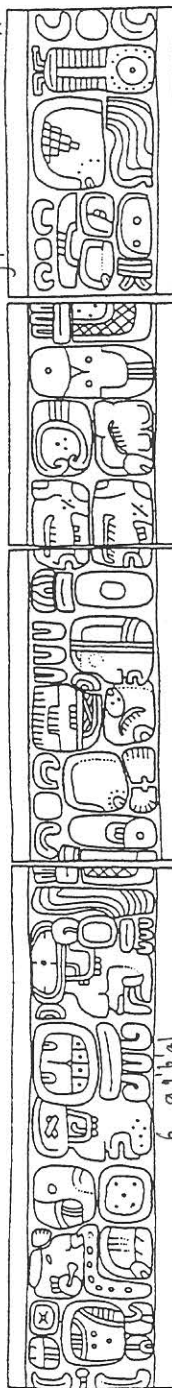
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



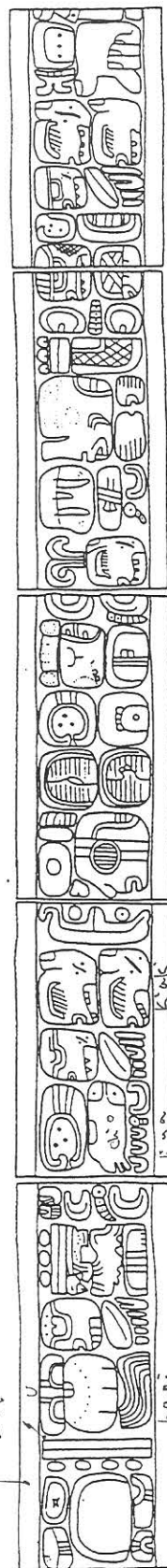
24 (25) hi  
ku'ul a' le waw  
fuego lo escudo h'awil

22 k'a pa 23  
ku'ul k'ala

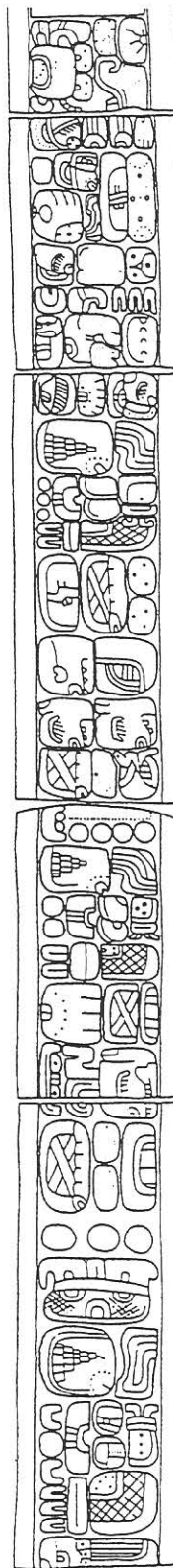
20 ka ji



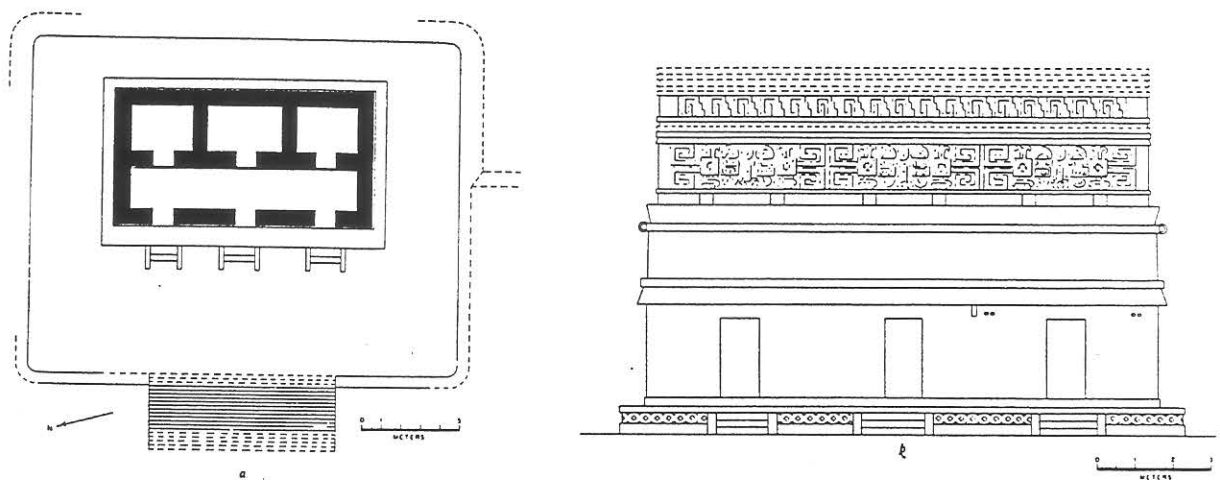
25 wa 26 ya' xax k'ah' n' k'awil  
27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35



35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46



(46) 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57  
achel u'aj  
ho k'ah' n' k'awil



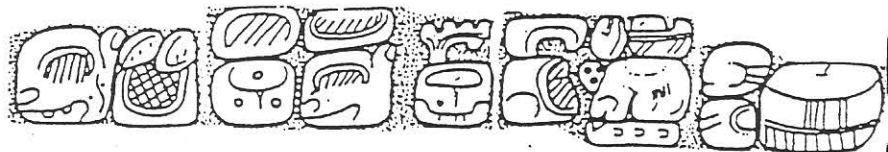
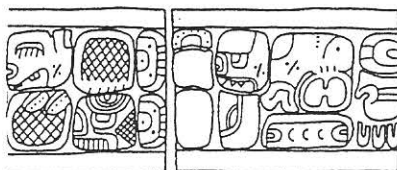
Casa Colorada, Chichen Itza, Plan and Elevation (after Ruppert 1952)

of K'awiil". The second logograph in the name is most likely **K'UK'UM** 'feather'; in the Late/Terminal Classic some representations of K'awiil incorporate a headdress of long quetzal feathers. At Ek Balam and Chichen some **K'AWIIL** glyphs show feathery attachments. That this is the name of a deity became clear when David Stuart and Erik Boot independently observed that the glyph after this name reads **u k'a-ba-K'UH**, "is the name of the god". The next three glyphs provide chronological information: **tu-1-pi-si TUUN-ni ta-1 AJAW-wa**, "within the first Tuun of [the K'atun] 1 Ajaw". This is a date in the Short Count format so common in Yucatan, and the date of the fire drilling, 6 Muluk 12 Mak indeed is within the first Tun of the K'atun 1 Ajaw, which ends on 10.3.0.0.0. Here we find the use of the numeral classifier *-pis* (sometimes abbreviated as *-pi*), which is used in Yucatec for the count of days and years.

After this chronological information we get a new verb. This verb shows evidence for the use of the Yucatec passive suffix *-(a)b* first identified by S. Wichmann and A. Lacadena. In 16<sup>th</sup> century Yucatec Maya, *-aab* specifically marks the passive of derived transitives. In Itza, *-b* is less specific and generally indicates passive voice, regardless of the form of the transitive root, as in Mopan, where a general *-Vb'* passive suffix is also found. In fact, *\*(a)b'* is the passive morpheme reconstructed by historical linguists for proto-Yucatec. A good example for the use of *-b* as a passive suffix is this verb here, which reads **jo-ch'o-b'i-ya u-k'a-k'a joch'-b'-iiy u k'ahk'** "it was drilled the fire of". This is in stark contrast with the expected and documented Classic Lowland form *johch-j'-iiy* (Yaxchilan Lnt. 29, D4). Once again, the fire that is drilled is possessed by a god, whose name still remains opaque. Note that the structure of the phrase corresponds in most details to the previous phrase; the final part of the phrase again is formed by the expression "in the first Tuun of 1 Ajaw".

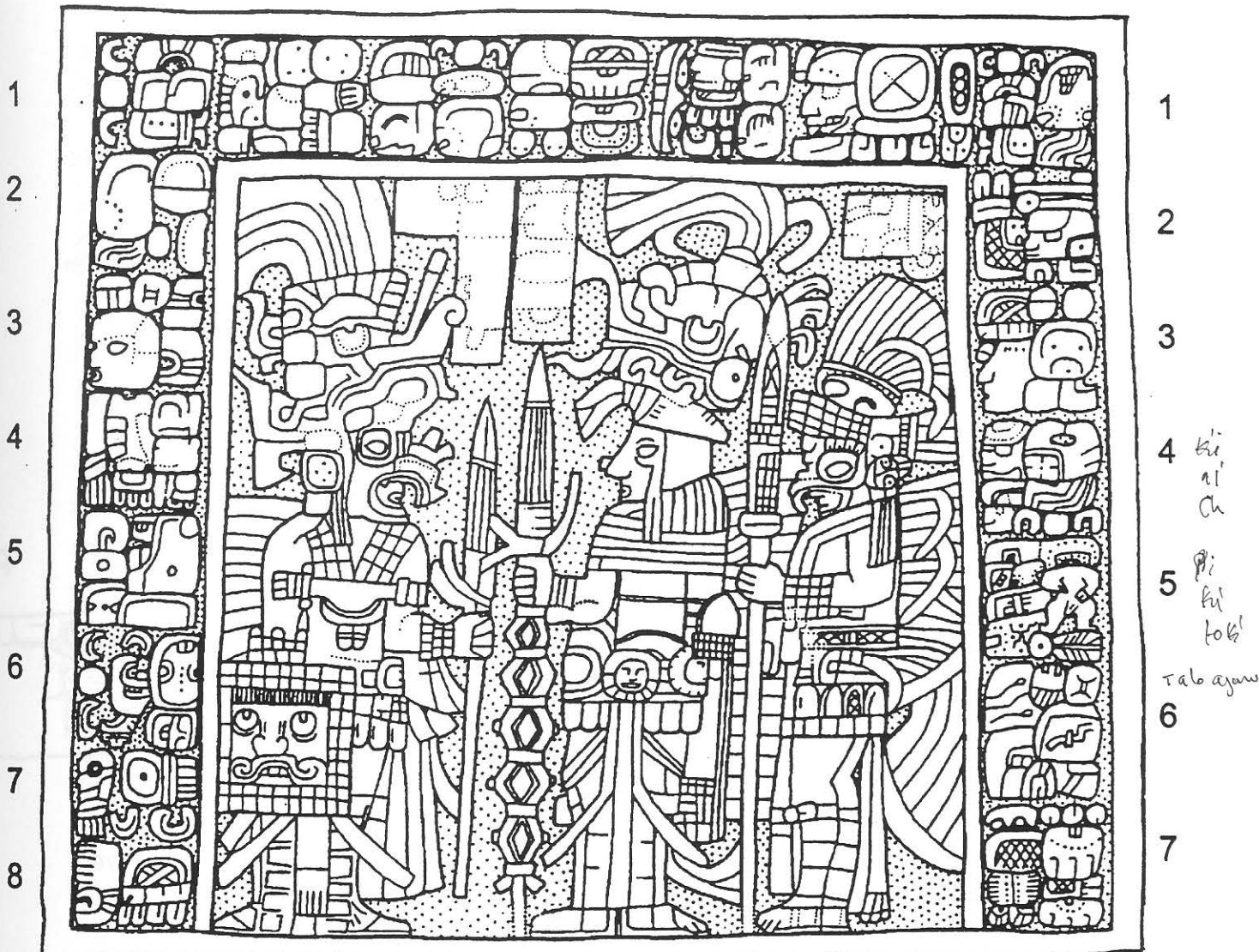
What follows seems to be a statement in which the agent or patron of the fire drilling events is named. Introduced by the demonstrative *ha'i'*, which is so common at Chichen Itza, the verb is **TZAK-ka-ji** "it is conjured". The next three collocations probably specify the place where the conjuring took place – **tu K'IN-ni** "in the sun", **tu-ba** "by himself?" or **tu-HA** "in the water" and probably **tu-NAAB?-il**, "amongst the nymphaeas = in the watery underworld". The last glyphs spell the name of K'ak'upakal and provide the titles **K'UHUL-a-ACH-le-wa-ji** and **ya-AJAW-wa wa-ta-a-bi**, "lord of *wata'ab*?" for him.

This is the first mention of K'ak'upakal we have at Chichen. His full name was K'ak U Pakal K'awiil, "Fire is the shield of K'awiil", but very often the second part of the long name is simply omitted (as we have already seen with Ukit Kan Le'k Too'k', usually spelled in a shortened version as Ukit Kan Le'k). The so-called "penis title" has remained a mystery for a very long time. It is clearly a personal title of K'ak'upakal, which he shares only with K'inil Kopol, his brother. Erik Boot suggests that the *-waj* suffix of this title is not related to *waaj* "tamale" at all, but that it is the same suffix which appears in the name of the province spelled Cochua in the colonial texts – *Koch-waj*.



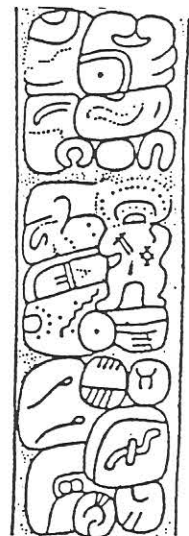


A B C D E F G

**Halakal, Lintel 10.2.0.11.8 10 Lamat 6 Sek (April 2, 870) (?)**

(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

The lintel from Halakal, a small suburb about four kilometers northeast of Chichen Itza, records twice the name of a certain **K'IN-ni-chi 1-pi-ki-TO'OK'** *K'inich Jun Pik To'ok'* "Great sun/sun faced eight thousand flint knives" who carries the Ek Balam (**TAL-lo-AJAW-wa**) emblem glyph among one of his titles. Between the name and the emblem glyph another title or name is inserted which is also found on Ek Balam Stela 1. The small hieroglyph between the date and the nominal phrase probably stands for the verb. It is, unfortunately, too eroded to provide any insight on the nature of the interaction between this part of Chichen Itza and Ek Balam. The last glyph on the underside of the lintel, which follows the Ek Balam emblem glyph can be read as **u-pa-sa-wa cha-ba tu-ba**. While *pas* is a transitive verb root "to take out", *tu ba* is a reflexive object "for himself". Although no subject is mentioned in this phrase, there can be little doubt that the subject is the same as the one in the previous phrase, *K'inich Jun Pik To'ok'*. The question still is how to interpret the *chab* collocation, which must refer to some kind of object. It is very possible that one of the three warrior figures shown on the Halakal lintel is *K'inich Jun Pik To'ok'*, while the others are local individuals from Chichen Itza. Several local individuals are mentioned in the text.



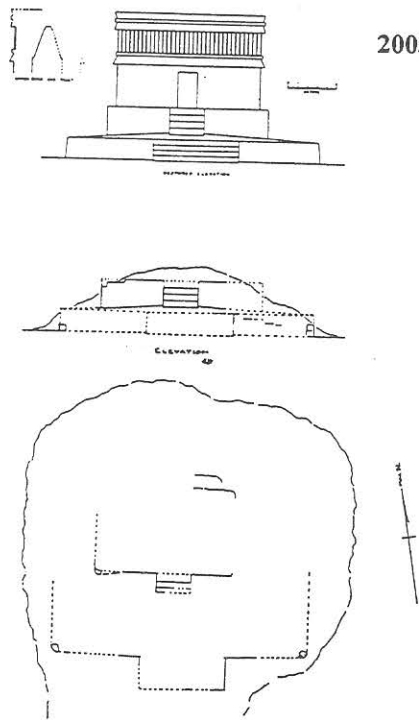
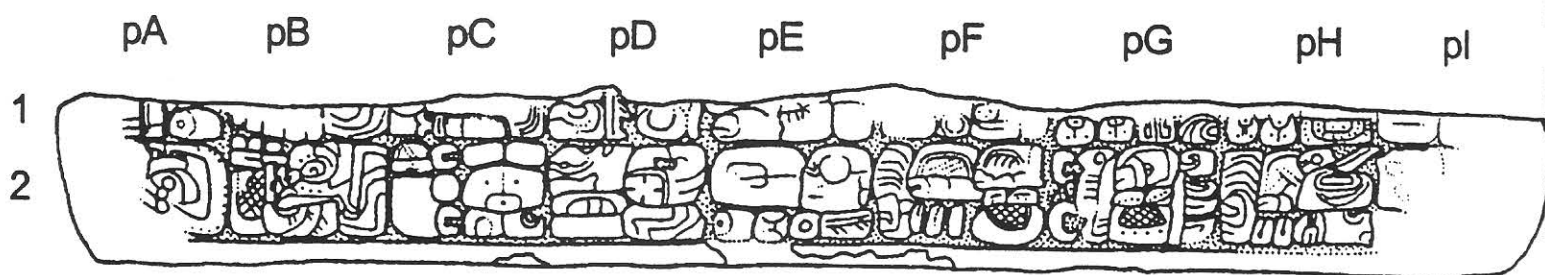


FIG. 115—HALAKAL, PLAN, SECTIONS, AND ELEVATION (BY JOHN S. BOLLES)

The text that precedes the mention of K'inich Jun Pik To'ok' contains a verbal statement **u-TZAK-ka-ji k'a-k'a-?**, "it is conjured [in] the fire". The statement is identical to the one from the Casa Colorada text discussed before. The name of the subject follows and includes, among others, the title *jun yajaw winik*, perhaps "the one big man".

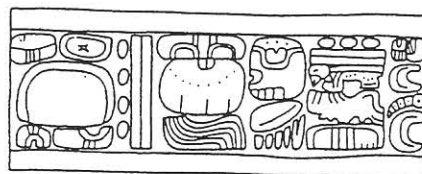
The date of the Halakal lintel is controversial. The chronological information is given both as a Calendar Round and a Short Count date, such as the dates on other lintels from Chichen Itza. While the Short Count is "in the first Tuun in [K'atun] 1 (?) Ajaw", the coefficient of the day sign, a head variant, cannot be read with certainty, and the day sign itself could be either Etz'nab or Lamat. The month is 7 Sek. The month coefficient only agrees with the day signs Lamat or Etz'nab under the assumption that the carvers of the Halakal lintel participated in the Puuc system of dating, because Chichen Itza otherwise continued with the Classic dating system. If we accept the dating style at Halakal as an exception to the other texts at in Chichen Itza the most likely date is 10.2.0.11.8 10 Lamat 6 Sek (April 2, 870 AD).

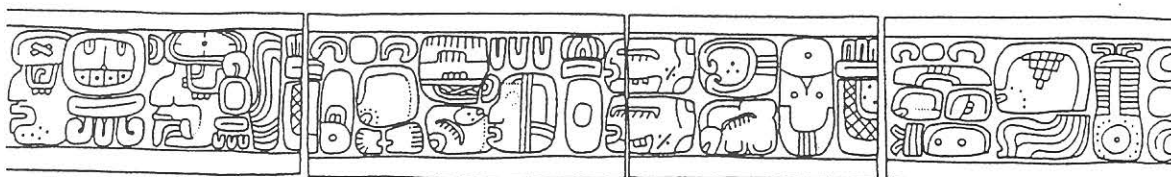


The front side of the Halakal Lintel. Drawing by Alexander Voß.

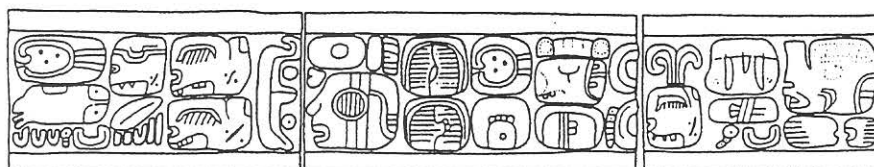
**Chichen Itza, Casa Colorada, Hieroglyphic Band 10.2.0.15.3 7 Ak'bal 1 Ch'en (June 6, 870)**  
(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

Inscriptions with two or more dates are extremely rare in most of Yucatan, but relatively common at Chichen Itza, (Osario Column 4, Caracol "Stela", Akab Dzib Lintel, "Water Trough" Lintel, Yula Lnt. 2). Yet, in all but one case, the dates are not connected and stand by themselves. Their position in the Long Count is fixed only through the association with Tun-Ajaw statements. The only case in Chichen Itza where dates are connected through a kind of Distance Number is in the Casa Colorada inscription. Here, the first date, 6 Muluk 12 Mak 10.2.0.1.9 is separated by a very unusual Distance Number, written **14-u-b'a-ni 13-wi-ni-ki-ji-ya** from the second date, 7 Ak'bal 1 Ch'en 10.2.0.15.3. Several scholars have pointed out that this collocation must stand for the expected Distance Number of 13 Winal, 14 K'in. While the Winik element of the DN is different from more standard examples only in the fact that it is spelled with syllabic signs, the K'in position is expressed by a collocation, which reads **u-b'a-ni, u b'aan**. This idiosyncratic expression could be linked to proto-Ch'ol *\*b'ahnel* "emphatic pronoun base: 'by oneself, 'oneself alone'" (Kaufman and Norman 1984: 138); Ch'ol *bajñel* "sólo" (Aulie and Aulie 1978: 30). This unique Distance Number illustrates the totally different nature of Northern Mayan writing, which is also based on a different discourse strategy. Obviously, in most places (except for Chichen Itza and Ek Balam) there was no interest or need for recording long histories of sequential and related events.





The new DN does not connect the two dates as we would expect to see in the Southern Lowlands, but is almost introduced as an afterthought long after the Calendar Round 7 Ak'bal 1 Ch'en (10.2.0.15.3) has been presented. This is followed by a statement **pu-lu-ji-ya ti-k'a-k'a jo-?-la**, "and then he/it burned as a fire at (?) jo-?-l". This statement functions like an insert in the chronological passage, which then continues with the usual Short Count information "in the first Tun of 1 Ajaw" and the above mentioned DN.



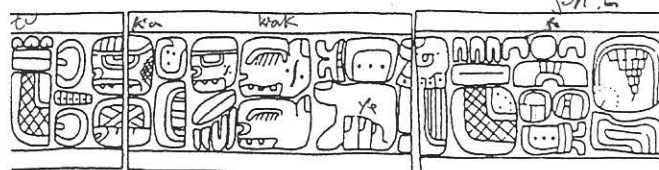
The general topic of the following passages once again is fire and fire drilling. The verb after the DN reads **jo-ch'o-ji-ya** "drilled was". The verbal suffix could be a Ch'olan passive, (in contrast to the *joch'* verb before), but it could also be the same as in the unusual spelling **TZAK-ka-ji** (the Classic lowland passive should be **TZAK-ka-ja**). Alfonso suggests that there is probably a different -VVj suffix involved, of Yucatecan affiliation. Ek Balam has, for example, **tu-ta-ji**. The fire drilling mentioned in this phrase is then connected to a location, which is described in the following two glyph blocks **u-ti-ya ?-?-jo-lo**, "it happened at ?-jol. This place may have been a temple or shrine at Chichen Itza where the fire drilling took place.

Unfortunately, some of the following glyphs are eroded so that their detail is difficult to make out. What can be seen, though, is that there is at least one other mention of the glyph for fire, *k'ahk'*. The text then continues with a set of three subphrases of identical structure. Each is introduced by an ordinal number followed by the ordinal suffix *-tal-il*. The second glyph is the possessed form of the glyph for fire, and the third glyph presents a nominal phrase. Finally, the last glyph refers to a sequential count of Tuns:

*tu ka-tal-il u k'ahk'*

*si-ye-a*

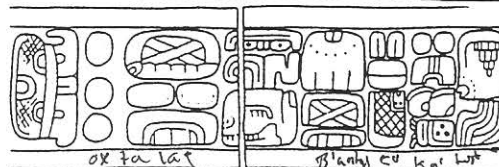
*tu-1-pis-tuun*



*tu 3-tal-il u k'ahk'*

*ba-ta-li*

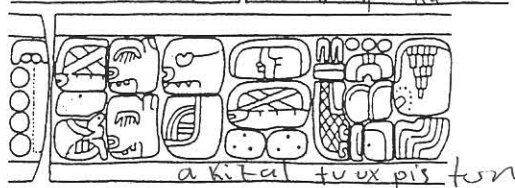
*tu-2-pis-tuun*



*u 4-tal-il u k'ahk'*

*a-ki-ta-la*

*tu-3-pis-tuun*

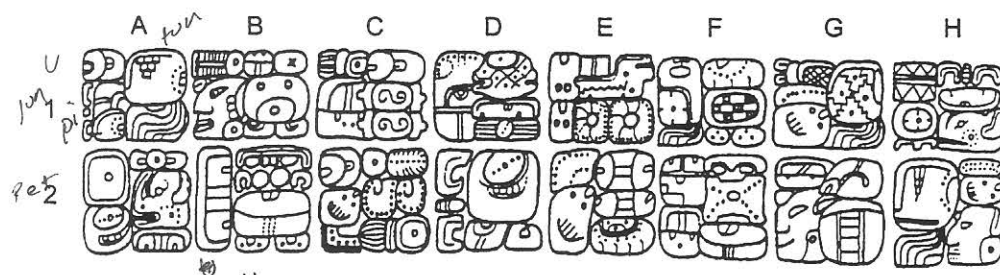
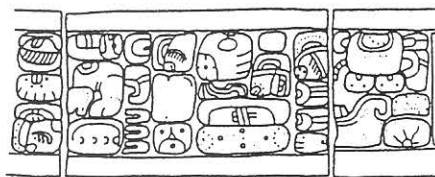


Note that in the first case the number 'two' is written syllabically as *ka*. This is another Yucatec feature, because the Ch'olan counterpart would have been *cha*.

These sequential fire events were supervised, as we are told in the following phrase, by three different individuals, whose names are introduced by a *k'uhul* "divine" glyph. The agency glyph that introduces the names is written **u-ka-ba-na** and is probably related to the more common **u-KAB-ji-ya** agency verbs of the Southern Lowlands. The *-an* suffix has been interpreted by Alfonso and others as a



derivational suffix for transitive verbs. The three individuals include *achelwaa* – the title, which, as we have seen before, is employed only by K'ak'upakal and his brother; the lord of Ek Balam, K'inich Jun Pik To'ok', who already interacted with Chichen lords on the Halakal Lintel, and finally a *k'uhul kokom*, a divine Kokom, whose name was *yajawal*?. Two of these lords were from Chichen Itza, the third was from Ek Balam. We have no contemporary information from Ek Balam, but the joint ritual activities leave no doubt that Ek Balam still was considered an important player in the political landscape of Yucatan, prestigious enough to be mentioned in a text at Chichen Itza.



### Chichen Itza, Akab Dzib Lintel 10.2.1.0.0 1 Tun in 1 Ajaw (870)

(Drawing by Alexander Voß)

The date is written in the Tun-Ajaw format: **u-1-pi-TUUN-ni ta-1-AJAW-wa**, "the first Tun within one Ajaw", where "1 Ajaw" corresponds to the last day of the K'atun that would end on 10.3.0.0.0.. The main sign of the verb is usually recognized as the logogram **PET**, which in modern Mayan languages is an adjective and translates as "round, circumscribed". This translation does not fit well the context. Here and in many other inscriptions from Yucatan, especially from the western Puuc region the verb appears in passive voice, suggesting that it is originally a transitive root. The hieroglyph next to it is the "lu-bat" glyph, a possessed noun translating as "the sculpture of". The "possessor" of the sculpture is named in the next block and is composed of a sign of unknown reading and the glyph **u-2-OL-la**, probably translating as "the second door", because the lintel is attached to a doorway inside the actual structure. The following two hieroglyphs must provide the ancient name for the Akab Dzib in Old Chichen: **ti-I u-WAK-WAK (?) pu-?-na-hi**, "at the wak-wak pu-turtle-house of". Finally, the first phrase ends with a sequence of glyphs naming the owner of the house: **u-K'UHUL-lu o-to-ti** "it is the divine house of" **ya-ja-wa la-cho(?)**? **K'IN-ni-chi ba-?-la K'UHUL-lu-ko-ko-ma**. The last glyph in this sequence spells, as Nikolai and David recognized in 1987,

the patronym Kokom, which is the name of one of the dominant noble families of the Yucatan peninsula. The Kokom, according to various sources were either related to Mexican immigrants and in distant relationship to Moctezuma, or – as Gaspar Antonio Chi claims –

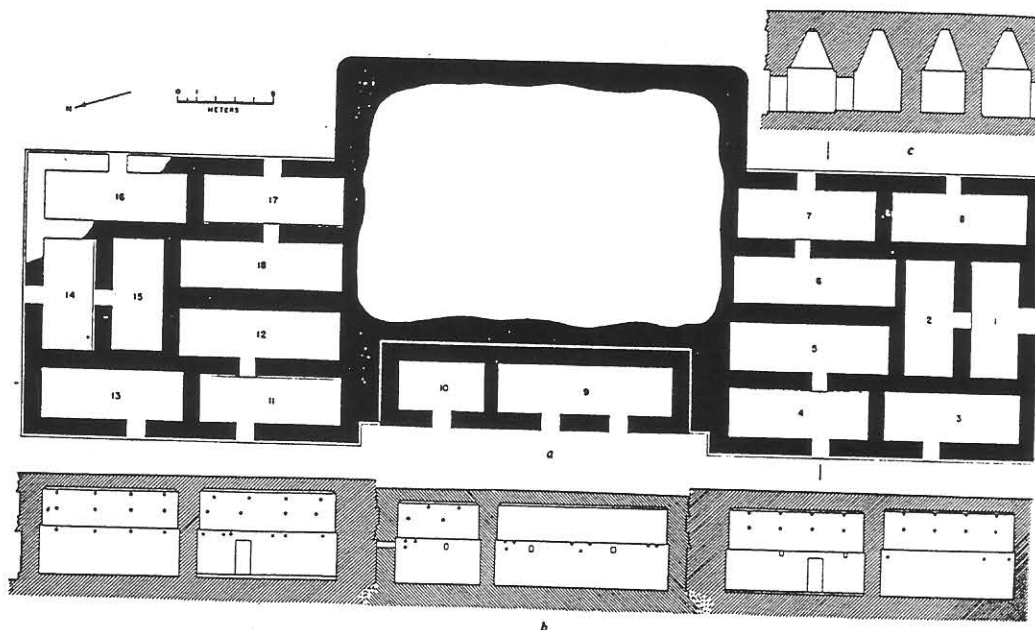


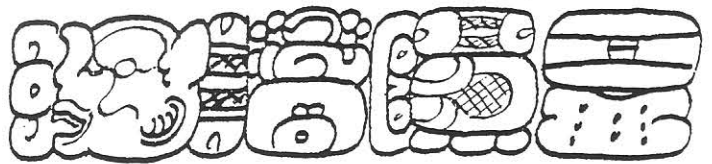
FIG. 60—STRUCTURE 4D1, PLAN AND SECTIONS

a: Plan. b: North-south section. c: East-west section through South Wing.

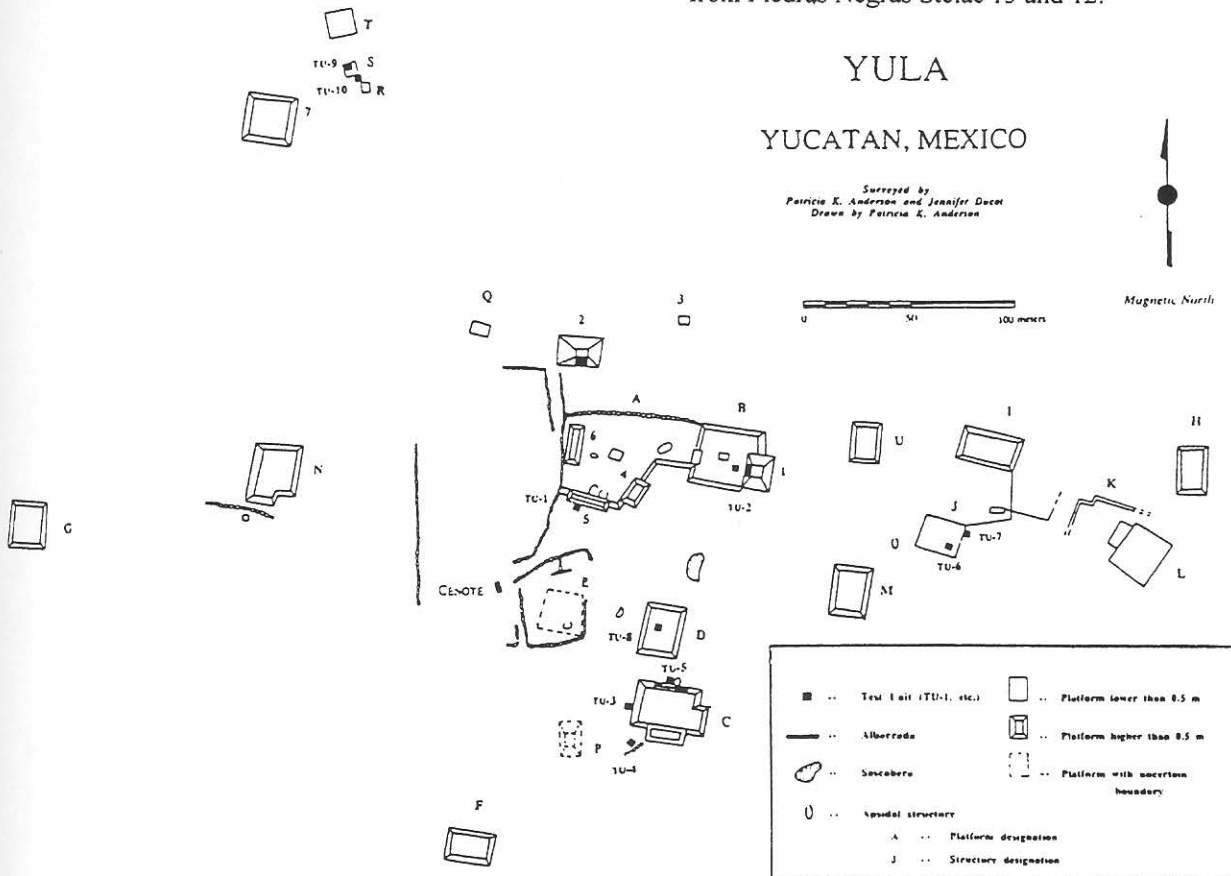


were one of the old local chibaloob. The presence of the name on the Akab Dzib lintel would suggest the latter.

The second phrase on this side of the lintel is introduced with the demonstrative pronoun **ha-i'** "this one", which points back towards the possessed subject of the previous phrase (the sculpture). Only then follows the verb **u-POL-ol** "he carves it". The main sign of the verb often appears in scribal signatures from Piedras Negras and elsewhere. The text continues **tu-K'UHUL-lu-TUUN-ni** "on the divine stone", **?-K'IN-ni** **?-K'in**, **ya-na-?**, "the son of" **i-IXIK-?-EEB** **TUUN-ni K'UHUL-lu-AJAW**, "Lady ?, the divine lady from Ebtun". As so often in the texts of Chichen Itza, we are not informed about both parents of the artist, but only of his mother. The mother carries the penis glyph as her name; at the same time, her name seems to include a reference to her origin. Today Ebtun is a village in the vicinity of Valladolid. The name of the village must be ancient because it is already mentioned in the books of Chilam Balam. It is possible, though difficult to prove, that the mother was indeed from a precursor of the modern Ebtun.

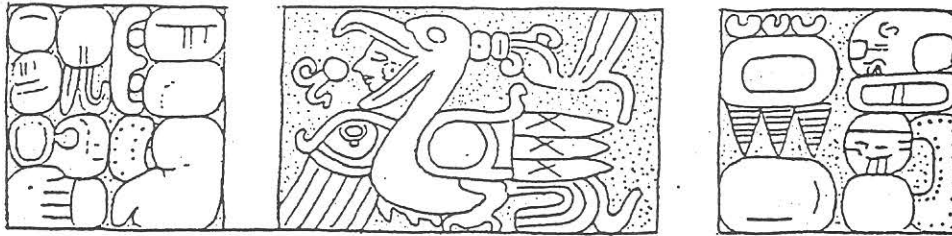


Scribal signatures with the possible **POL** logograph from Piedras Negras Stelae 13 and 12.



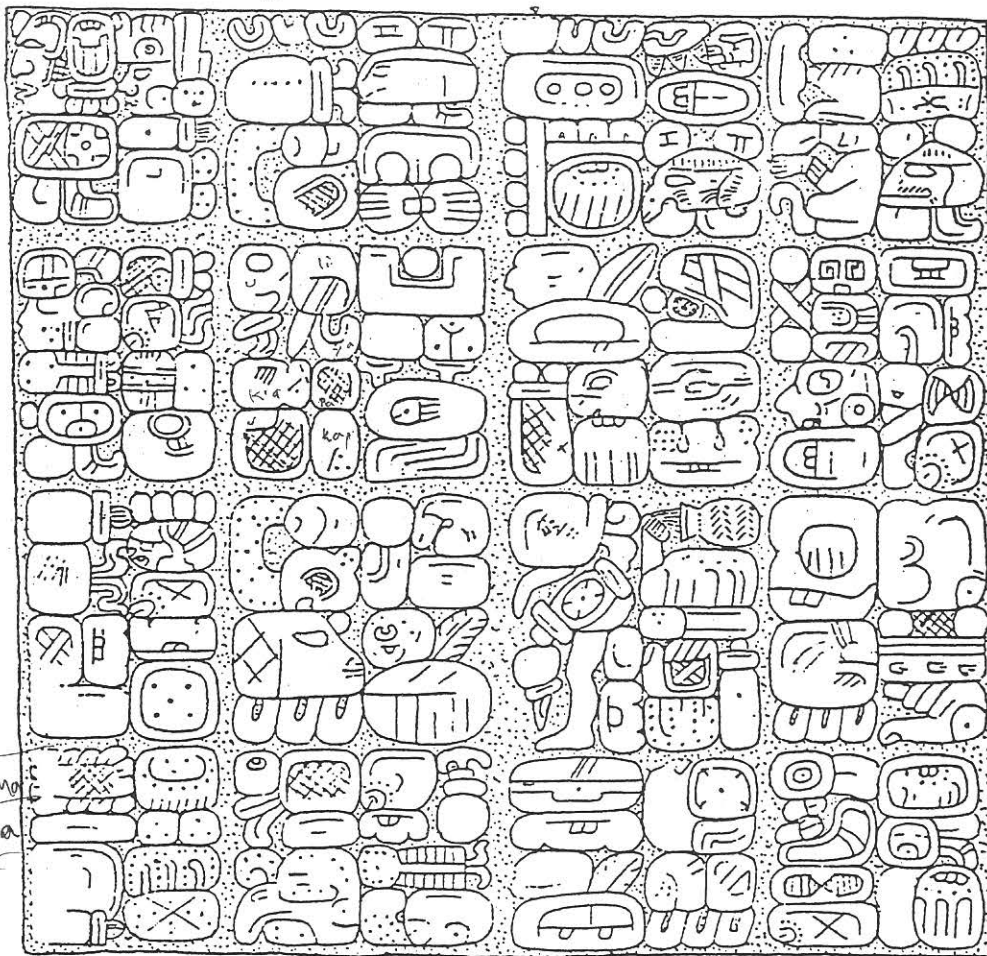
Map of Yula, Yucatán, Mexico. Map by Patricia Anderson and Jennifer Ducat.

Yula, Lintel 1 10.2.4.8.4 8 K'an 2 Pop (January 7, 874)  
(Drawing by Ian Graham)



Yula is a small archaeological site approximately 5.5 kilometers south of Chichen Itza. Two lintels have been recovered from the ruins, which are now heavily eroded. Both lintels are all-glyphic with the exception of a small image on the front side, which shows an obsidian bird (on Lintel 1) and a vision serpent (on Lintel 2), each with a human head in its maw or beak.

To'k Yas Ajaw



The text on Lintel 2 begins with a Calendar Round date 8 K'an 2 Pop within (*ti wal*) the 5<sup>th</sup> Tun of the K'atun ending on 1 Ajaw. The following phrase focuses on some kind of ritual activity, once again involving fire: **pu-la-ja ti-k'a-k'a 4-tzu-ku ta-na-? na-bi**, *pu[h]l-aj ti k'ahk' kan tzuk tan ? naab*. The initial verb of this phrase is *pul*. If this is to be translated as a Ch'olan word, *pul* can be the transitive "to burn". An alternative, though less likely translation could be based on Yucatec *pul* "to throw". We favour the Ch'olan reading here, "it is burned in the fire". *Kan tzuk* translates as "four partitions", but at the same time it can be understood as "four heaps", and the final two glyphs in this phrase represent a

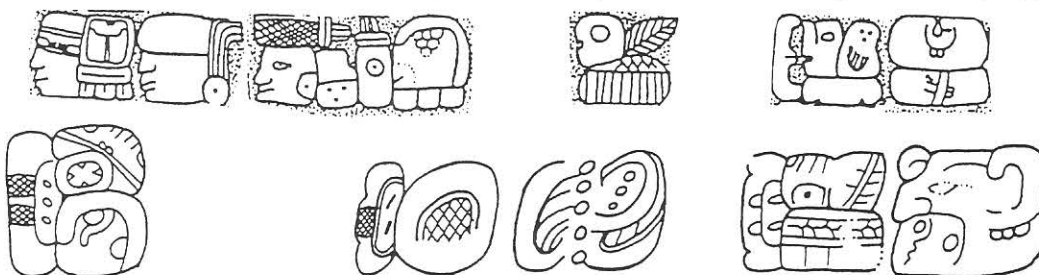
toponymic expression, referring to the place where the burning took place.

This initial sentence is followed by a second sentence **hu-li ma-la YOTOOT-ti**, "arrived in the house". Erik Boot shows that *mal* here is probably related to the Ch'olan locative *mal*, as in *i mal otot* "adentro de la casa". The name of the subject of the sentence is spelled in the following five hieroglyphs, he is To'k Yas Ajaw, "divine Um", a figure also mentioned on Lintel 2.

This arrival event is then compared in the next phrase with an anterior arrival (**u-li-ya**) that took place at a ballcourt. This time it was K'ak'upakal who arrived.

The next sentence opens with a verb that displays another Yucatec grammatical feature. This is the use of the suffix *-kun* as a causative of inchoative and positional intransitives. This causative marking is also found in Itza and has survived in modern Yucatec Maya. The stem *pal-kun* is a causativized inchoative based on the noun root *pal* "child". The form here is *u-pa-li-ku-na*, *u-pal-ku'n*, "he/she brightens up". The meaning is 'to make something young, new'.. The entire phrase then reads *u-pa-li-ku-na u-si-li ta-K'UH ya-xa-HA'AL-cha-ki*, which should be *upaalkuna[jj] usil ta k'uh Yax Ha'al Chaa[h]k* "he renewed his offering for the god Yax ha'al Chaahk". The next two glyphs, *bolon tz'ab ajaw* provide an additional epithet for this divinity (probably based on *tz'abil* "gift" in Yucatec – the appellative then would be "Ajaw of the many gifts").

Another, new sentence is introduced with the 1-*pas* hieroglyph so common at Chichen Itza. The reading of this logogram, which shows a sun sign sandwiched between a sky and an earth sign is firmly supported by substitution patterns at Copan, where the *pas* collocation forms part of the royal anthroponym



Yax Pasaj Chan Yopaat. At Chichen Itza, this glyph is found mostly at the beginning of new sentences, where it seems to function as some kind of distance number, probably indicating that one day (or some, not specified period of time) has passed since the preceding event. Linguistically, this understanding of *pas* is based on the Ch'olan expression *paskab* "dawn". Most of the new sentence itself still is highly opaque and escapes our interpretation. The beginning of the sentence might be *tu-k'a-ba jo-ch'a k'a-K'AHK'*, "with his hands he drills the fire".

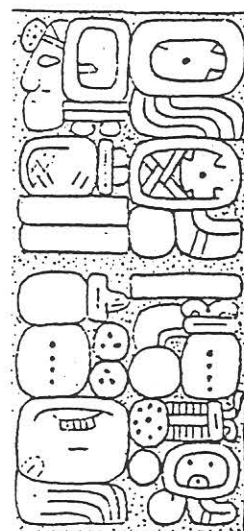
This unidentified subject of this fire drilling event is connected with a *y-itaj* statement with another individual from a place identified as *ka-la-ke-ji-to-TOOK'*. It seems that this collocation spells the toponym Calcehtok, which is a modern town in the near vicinity of Oxkintok, Yucatán. However, in this context it is more likely that the toponym refers to a different place, probably in the vicinity of Yula which just happens to have the same name. That this Calcehtok is not the same as the one close to Oxkintok is made clear by the addition of the expression *KOJ AJAW-wa* "Puma lord" that follows the name. Linguistically it is important that the word for deer employed in the toponym is Yucatec *kej* instead of Ch'olan *chij*. The same toponym also shows up on Yula Lintel 2, suggesting that this place was of major importance for the nobility of Yula.

The last sentence on this lintel refers to the individual who commissioned the text: *u-wo-jo-li po-mu-na CHAAK-ki*, *u wojil pomun chaak*, "these are the hieroglyphs of Pomun Chaak". Pomun Chaak carried another title, he was *u-nu-ku ?-KUH*, "the big one of the ?-god". He was not the only individual in charge of the hieroglyphs, since the phrase continues with a *y-itaj* statement and another long nominal phrase.

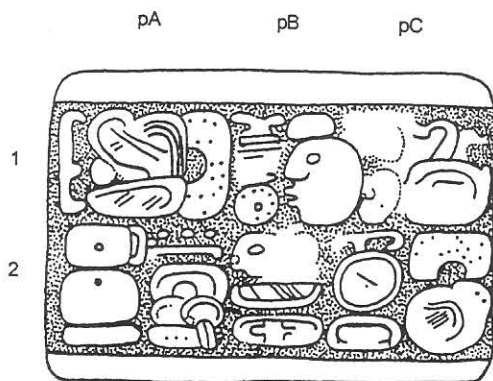
The front of the lintel carries a hieroglyphic text of eight blocks. These glyphs dedicate the entire inscription to a god: *a-ALAY-ya (?) K'AL-la-ja u-wo-jo LI*, *alay (?) k'a[h]l-aj u wojil* "here are presented the hieroglyphs of", and the four glyphs on the right side read *ya-YAX HAL-la CHAAK-ki CHAN-la-K'UH*, *yax ha'al chaak chanal k'uh*, "green-blue Chaak, the sky god".

#### Yula, Lintel 2, 10.2.4.8.12 3 Eb 10 Pop (January 12, 874) (Drawing by Ian Graham)

The text on Yula Lintel 2 terminates with a date, which is earlier than the first date at the beginning of the lintel. The Calendar Round 3 Eb 10 Pop is connected to a Short Count statement *ti-wal 5-pis tuun ta 1-ajaw*, "within



the time of the 5<sup>th</sup> Tun of K'atun 1 Ajaw", which defines the date precisely within the Long Count. The verb of this sentence has first been identified by Miguel García Campillo as *wa-u-lu-ki*, *wa ul-ki*, "so he arrived". As so often, a place name follows the arrival statement: *ta-na chu-?* "in chu-?". The individual who arrived at this unidentified place is K'uhul Um To'k Yas Ajaw, the same figure who is mentioned in the context of another arrival on Lintel 1.

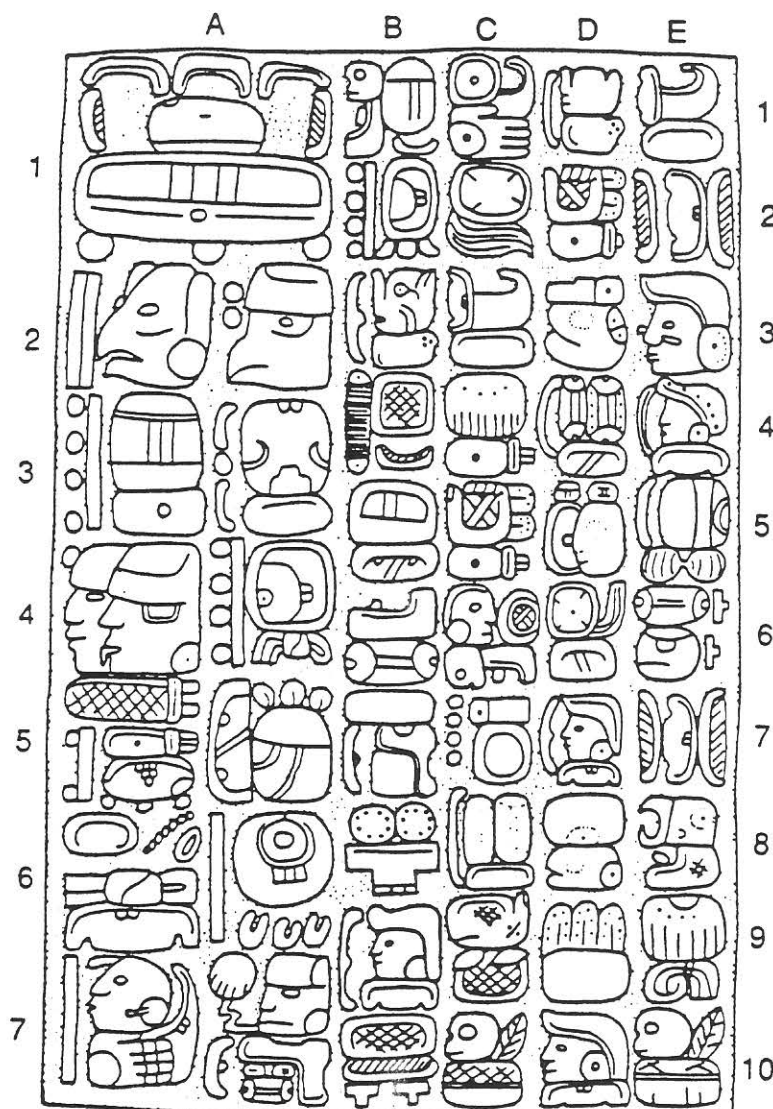


**Chichen Itza, Caracol, Fragment 9, 8 Tun in [1] Ajaw (877)**

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

This fragment of a longer text records a single date – "... within 8 *pis* (Tun) in Ajaw". Eric Thompson has shown

that in chronological contexts Ajaw compounds without a coefficient always represent "1 Ajaw". The numerical classifier *-pis* is always attached to Tuns, therefore this has to be the 8<sup>th</sup> Tun in 1 Ajaw, although the Tun glyph itself is not written. The event is the T759 verb, which plays such an important role in the texts associated with the Caracol.



**Chichen Itza, Initial Series Lintel 10.2.9.1.9 9 Muluk 7 Sak (July 30. 878)**

(Drawing by Ruth Krochok)

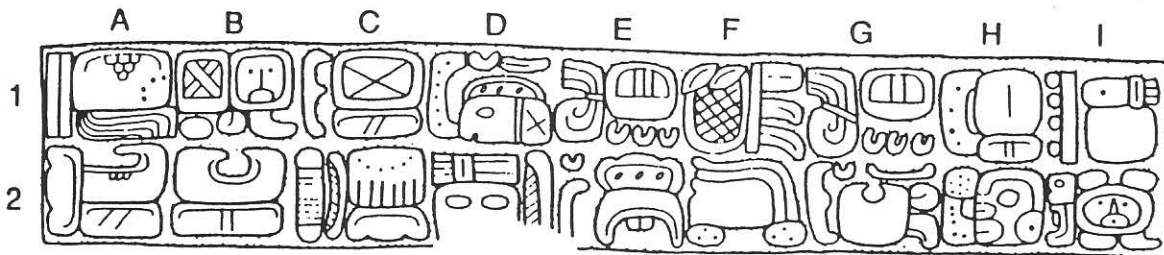
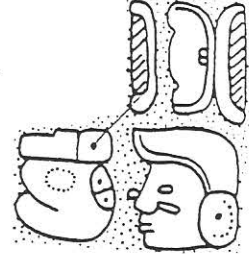
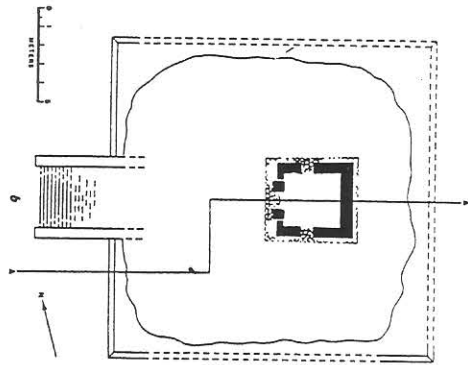
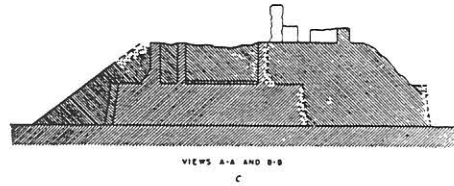
The lintel was found in association with a small structure south of the Monjas Complex, which has received its name because of the Initial Series written on the lintel. Peter Schmidt has presented arguments that the lintel was actually attached to another structure, probably the Temple of the Phalli. The lintel is carved with a hieroglyphic inscription both on its front- and underside. The underside of the lintel provides a full Initial Series, one of the latest complete Initial Series in the entire Maya lowlands. The date begins with a Long Count of 10.2.9.1.9, followed by the Calendar Round 9 Muluk 7 Sak, the 2<sup>nd</sup> "Lord of the Night",



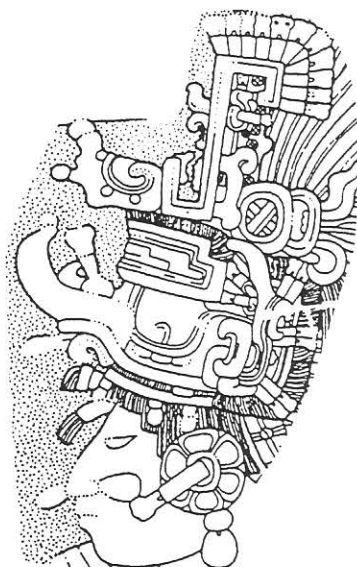
Glyph F, and the Lunar Series. According to the Lunar Series, the moon was in the state of 5-K'AL-ji, "25 days ago", which is just one day and a half more than the expected moon age of 23,4 D. The last three glyphs of the Lunar Series provide Glyph 5 "Moon Goddess" C and the correct form of Glyph X together with the statement u-K'ABA'-CH'OK-ko, "is the name of the unripe/young (moon)".

The main part of the text begins with the next two columns. The text is introduced with a dedication phrase which restates the Tzolkin day of the Initial Series: a-ALAY-ya (?) K'AL-ja 9-MULUK K'IN-ni u-xu(?) -lu na-ja-ki? u-pa-ka ba-ti i-li yo-to-ti, alay (?) k'a[h]l-aj bolon muluk k'in uxul-naj-ki u pakab ti'il y-otoot, "here it is presented on the day 9 Muluk the carving on the door lintel of the house of". The name of the owner of the house follows: cho-ko wa-ta?-a-bi?, Chok Wataab?, a name which also shows up on one of the Monjas Lintel, and probably in an abbreviated form also on the Casa Colorada inscription.

The rest of the text of the Initial Series Lintel is based mostly on relationship statements, which involve several individuals, among them K'ak'upakal and his brother K'inil Ko-?-l. One of the relationship glyphs, which occurs four times with a possessive *u* in this text is a capped human head with a *na* suffix. Unfortunately, this is such an idiosyncratic sign that the possibility of a decipherment seems to be highly unlikely. The capped head shows up twice as an unpossessed title, in one case with a perforated septum of the nose, which may imply some Central Mexican connection. In two cases the possessed apped ajaw titles follow u-ko-ko-li, perhaps a title based on the word *kok* "to observe". Another title that shows up twice in this text is ka-na-ka te-e, ka-nak-te', which has been linked by Nikolai and Erik Boot to the numeral classifier *nak* "cosas arrimadas, hombres recostados" (Cordemex p. 554), the number "two" *ka*, and *te* "tree". Erik has suggested that this is a lower ranking title based on the same concept as *baah-te*, "first tree". *Te* may also have an additional meaning here; although it is the word for "tree" (and therefore may be associated with the idea of the tree of ancestors), *te* also is the word for wood and staff, and the underlying idea could be that this is some kind of staff of authority.

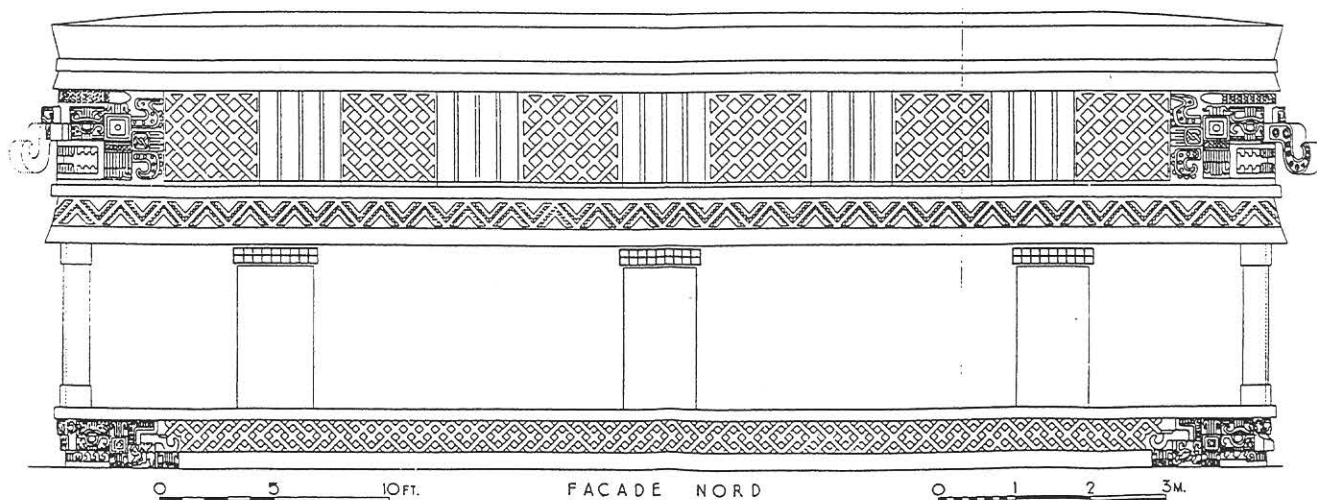


The front side of the lintel opens with a restatement of the date, however, only in the abbreviated form of a Short Count. The verb is na-ja-li ja-ki, probably *naj-al-jak*, and could be based on the root *naj* "to fill, finish". A peculiarity of this inscription is that the first four hieroglyphs are to be read in double columns, while the rest of the text is written in a single column format. The glyph next to the verb is a possessed noun of unknown reading. Then follows the u-ka-ba-na agency expression, which we have seen before in the Casa Colorada glyph band. It precedes a sequence of three names. All of these names are appellatives of gods. The names are connected by a *y-itaj* expression. The first of the names is a god which plays a very important role in Chichen Itza. His name is written K'UH-ya-YAX-? che-ka-na. The last part of the name includes the word for serpent, *kan*. The reading of the first part of the name depends on the decipherment of the mysterious "rabbit head" main sign. The *che* syllable suggests that the rabbit head spells a word with the structure CVch. - This is not the place to discuss all the readings which have been suggested for the rabbit head. However, in Southern Lowland inscriptions it can be shown that the rabbit head in certain contexts replaces the sign T580 lo, and that there is a supernatural serpent, whose name is written YAX-lo-(ti) NA-CHAN. It is very probable that the divinity referred to in the Chichen texts is this waterlily serpent,



Impersonations of the Waterlily Serpent on Southern Lowland Monuments

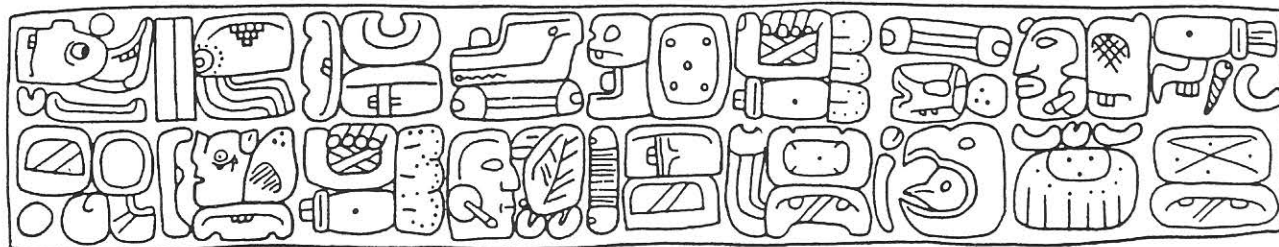
which is also the personification of the HAAB year. The other two supernaturals include **ya-YAX-u k'u-K'UK'UM K'AWIIL-la** "Green is the feather of K'awiil", a supernatural also mentioned in the Casa Colorada inscription, and a supernatural otherwise unknown from other contexts: **u-ya-ja-wa K'UH-?-li 9-tz'a-ba? K'UH a-AJAW**.



**Chichen Itza, Three Lintels, Lintels 1, 2 and 3 10.2.10.0.0 10 Tun in 1 Ajaw (879)**

(Drawing by Ruth Krochock)

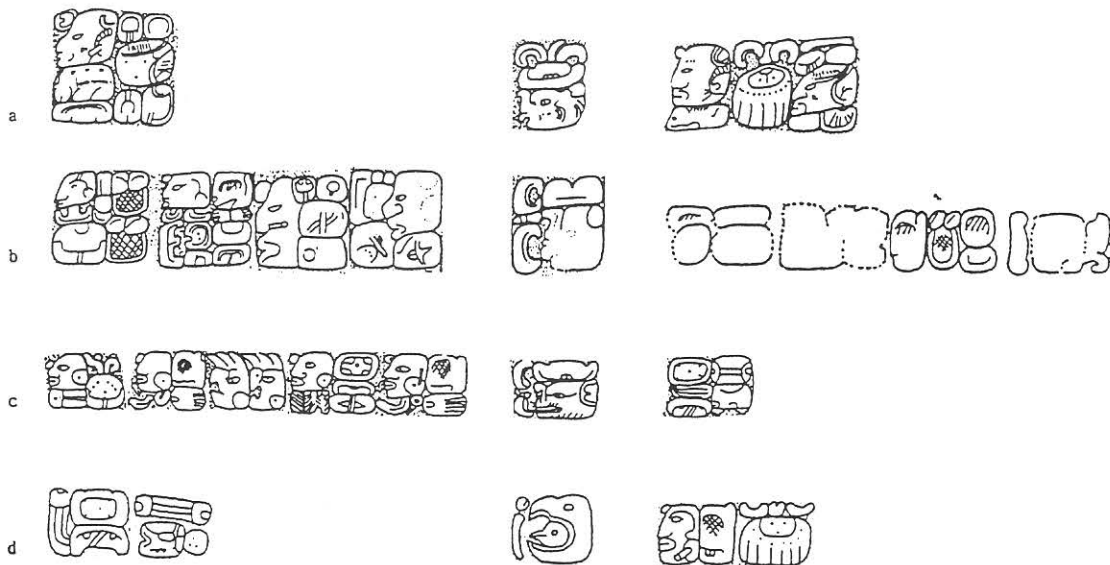
Only two of the originally three lintels from this building, which is located half a kilometer away from the Temple of the Initial Series are preserved. The reading order of the two preserved lintels parallels the reading order of the front side of the Initial Series Lintel, in that the first four hieroglyphs are read in double column format, while the remaining glyph blocks are arranged in single columns. Of the two lintels, only



Lintel 3

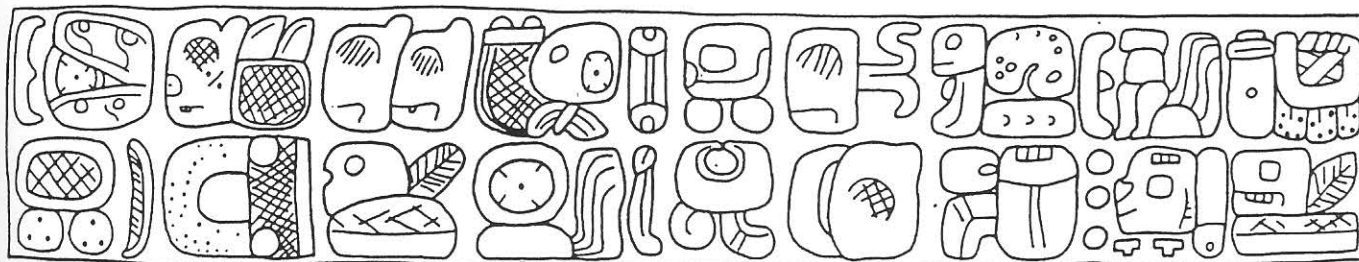
Lintel 3 carries a date. The date is introduced by an unusual verb or introductory glyph and is written only as a Short Count "10 Tun in 1 Ajaw". The next three hieroglyphs record the carving (of the sculpture) of the house: *u-xu?-lu-na na-ja-ki yo-to-ti, uxul-naj-ki y-otoot*, "it got carved (the sculpture) of the house of". The possessor of the house is *cho-ko wa-?-ji a-bi*, a name we have seen before in the Casa Colorada inscription. This individual is said to be *u-ki-ti, u kit*, probably "the patron of" a house *y-otoot*, which belongs to K'inil Ko-?-la, the brother of K'ak'upakal.

We know that K'inil Ko-?-l was the brother of K'ak'upakal because the last five glyphs on Lintel 3 provide us with a "child of mother" glyph (*y-al*) and the name of the mother. The unusual bird head variant



Lady K'ayam K'uk', mother of K'in Kimi and K'ak'upakal. a) CHN Monjas Lnt. 3a, C2-D2 (drawing by Ian Graham); b) CHN Monjas Lnt. 3, D1-Y4 (drawing by Ian Graham, with additions by Linda Schele); c) CHN Temple of the One Lintel, E2-H2 (drawing by Ruth Krochock); d) Temple of the Three Lintels, Lintel 3, F2-H2 (drawing by Ruth Krochock).

of the *y-al* glyph was deciphered as a substitution for the more common forms of *y-al* by Ruth Krochock. The name of the mother is *IX-k'a ya-ma ti-wi-ya*, Lady K'ayam Tiwiiy. According to the Monjas Lintels, Lady K'ayam also was the mother of K'ak'upakal, leaving no doubt that K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko-?-l were brothers. It is certainly for this reason that the two carry the same *a-ACH-le-WAAJ-ji* title.



Lintel 1

The text on Lintel 1 starts off with the glyph *u-pas*, probably a reference to daybreak. This is followed by the name of K'ak'upakal, who is called here a divine caretaker of the fire (*K'UHUL AJ-k'a-k'a*). Later in the text we find the name of his brother, and between his and K'ak'upakal's name there are two hieroglyphs, which are still highly opaque. K'inil Ko-?-l is addressed with a series of titles, among them *yajaw k'ahk'* "lord of the fire", and the *a-ACH-le-wa-WAAJ* title, which he shares with his brother.

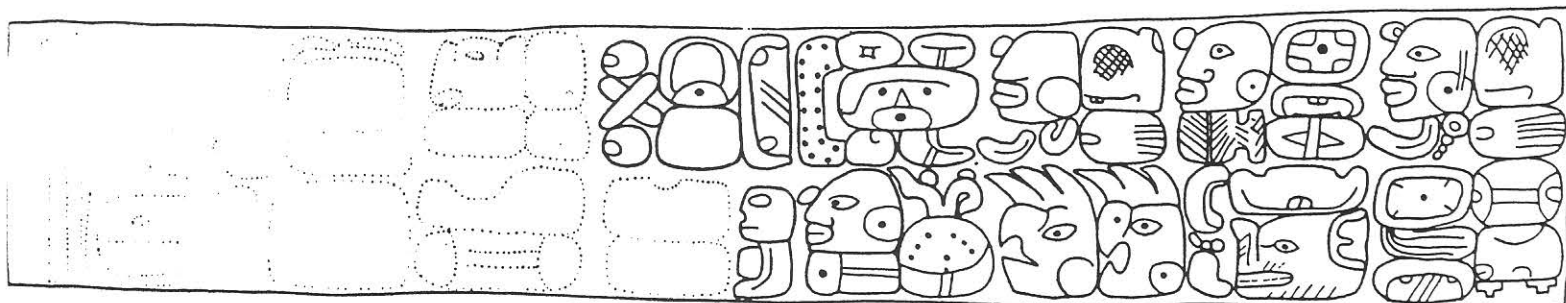
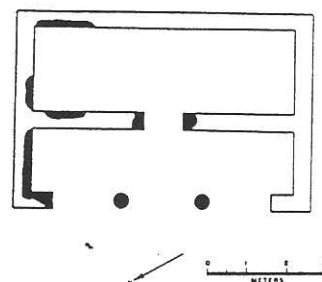
It seems that the last four glyphs on Lintel 3 constitute a sub-clause, introduced by an unknown verb *u-?-ni*. Except for the fact that the headless body logogram in the main sign of the verb occurs in a few other cases such as Tikal Altar 5, not much can be said about this final statement.

### Chichen Itza, Temple of the One Lintel (no date)

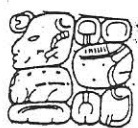
(Drawing by Ruth Krochok)

Although the lintel from the Temple of the One Lintel carries no date, we have decided to discuss it here because it refers to individuals, which are also addressed on the lintels from the Temple of the Three Lintels. Unfortunately, the left third of the lintel is heavily eroded. Enough detail of the outlines can still be seen to identify the name *cho-ka-wa-?-a-bi*, which precedes the title *K'UHUL AJAW-wa*, "divine lord". The use of this title with *Chok wa-?-a-bi* confirms that this individual occupied a particularly elevated position at Chichen Itza. Perhaps this title comes closest to the emblem glyphs in the Southern Lowlands, which identify their carriers as divine kings.

STRUCTURE 7B1  
Temple of the One Lintel



It seems that the One Lintel focuses on a series of names. The text ends with an extended female anthroponym - the name of Lady K'ayam, followed by a glyph expressing filiation, and finally the name of K'inil Ko-?-l. The bat head with the *ya-na* syllables before has long been identified as a "mother of" statement. Many different texts from all over the Maya lowlands are known, where this collocation is employed between the name of the mother and the name of the child. Because of its syntactic position, it seems to represent a "mother of child" relationship rather than "child of mother". As a caveat we should add a word of caution that there are also cases, where the *ya-na*-bat glyph is used in the reverse syntactic environment with the name of the child written first. A linguistic reading for the compound has not yet been proposed, although there can hardly be any doubt that the underlying expression began with *an-*, and that the initial *y-* represents the prevocalic possessive.



a



b



Mother's Name

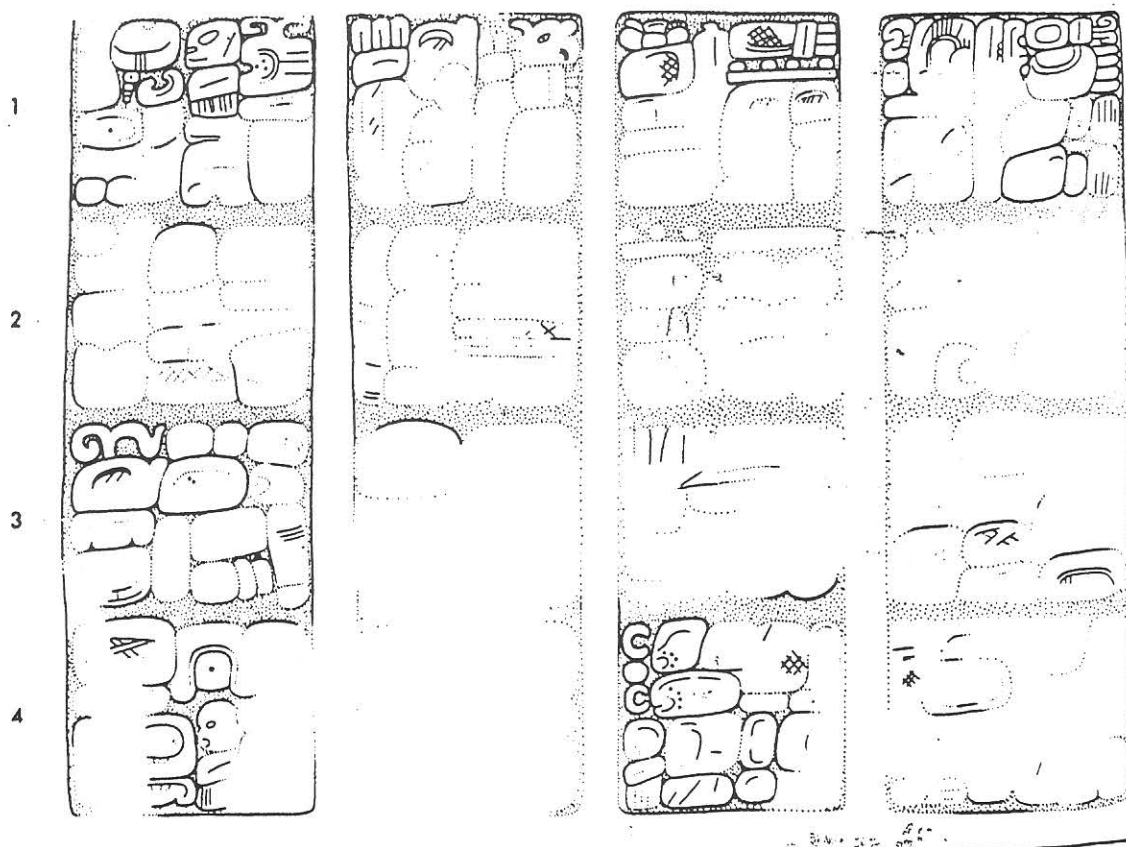
Child's Name

### Chichen Itza, Monjas, Lintels 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 10.2.10.11.7 8 Manik' 15 Wo (February 8, 880)

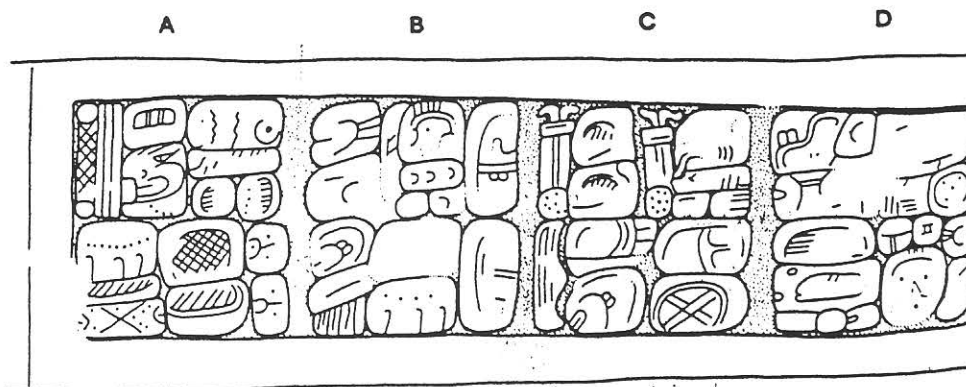
(Drawings by Ian Graham)

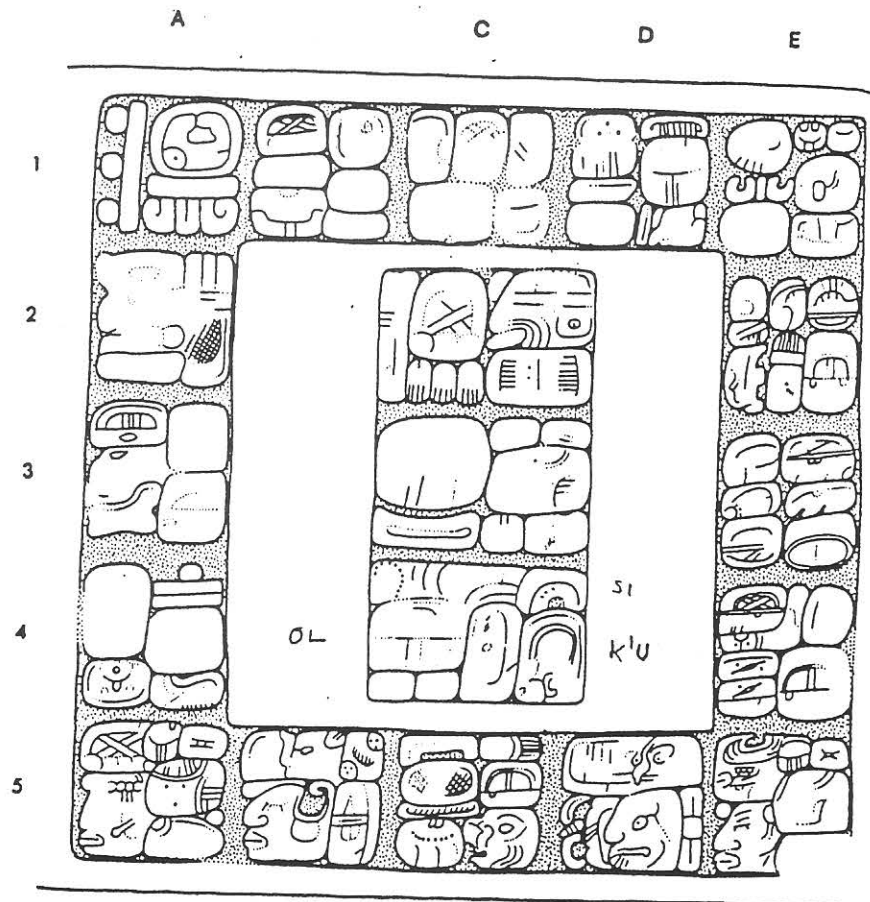
The seven lintels from the large Monjas complex represent the most complete corpus of texts at Chichen Itza associated with a single structure. The lintels support doorways of a large range-type structure erected on a massive platform. The structure has five entrances on the north side, on entrance on the east side and one entrance on the west side, which are supported by carved lintels. There are also doorways on the north side, but they did not carry any carved inscription.



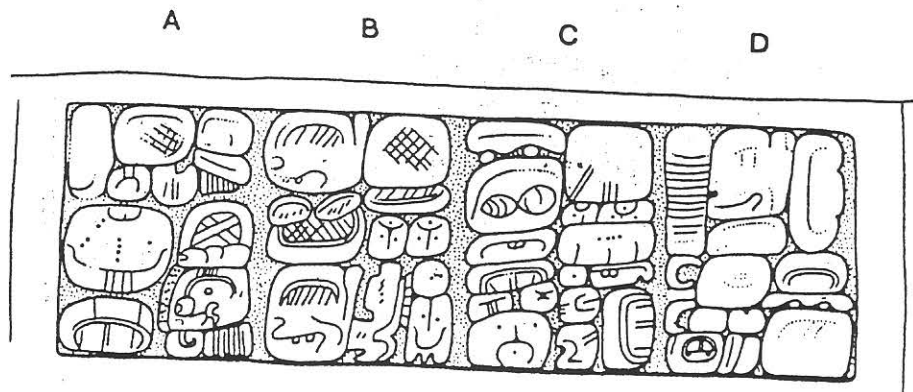


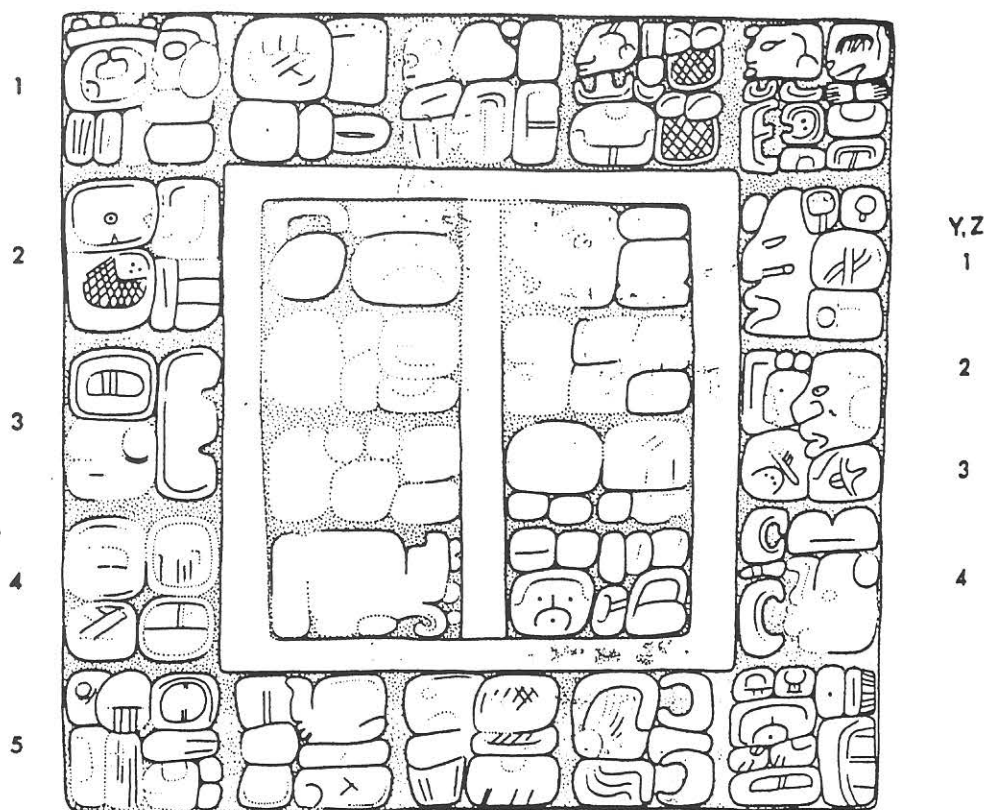
Lintel 1



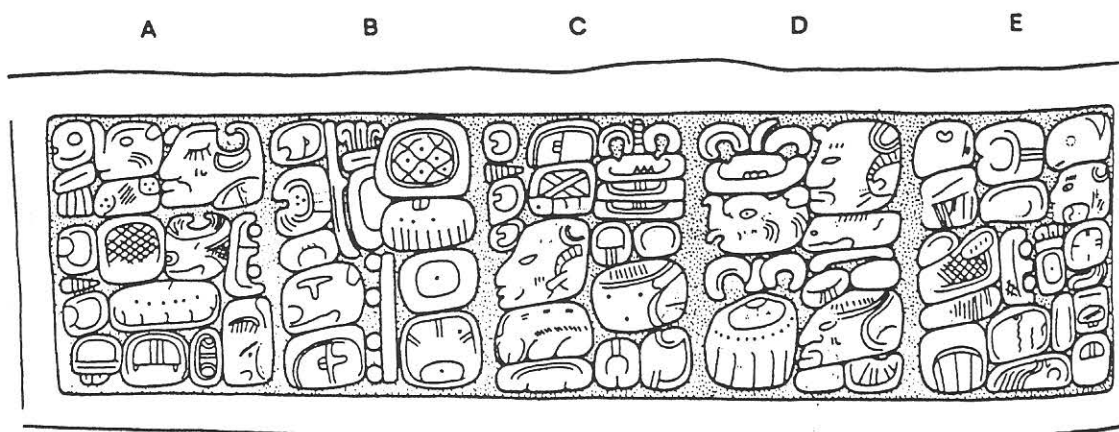


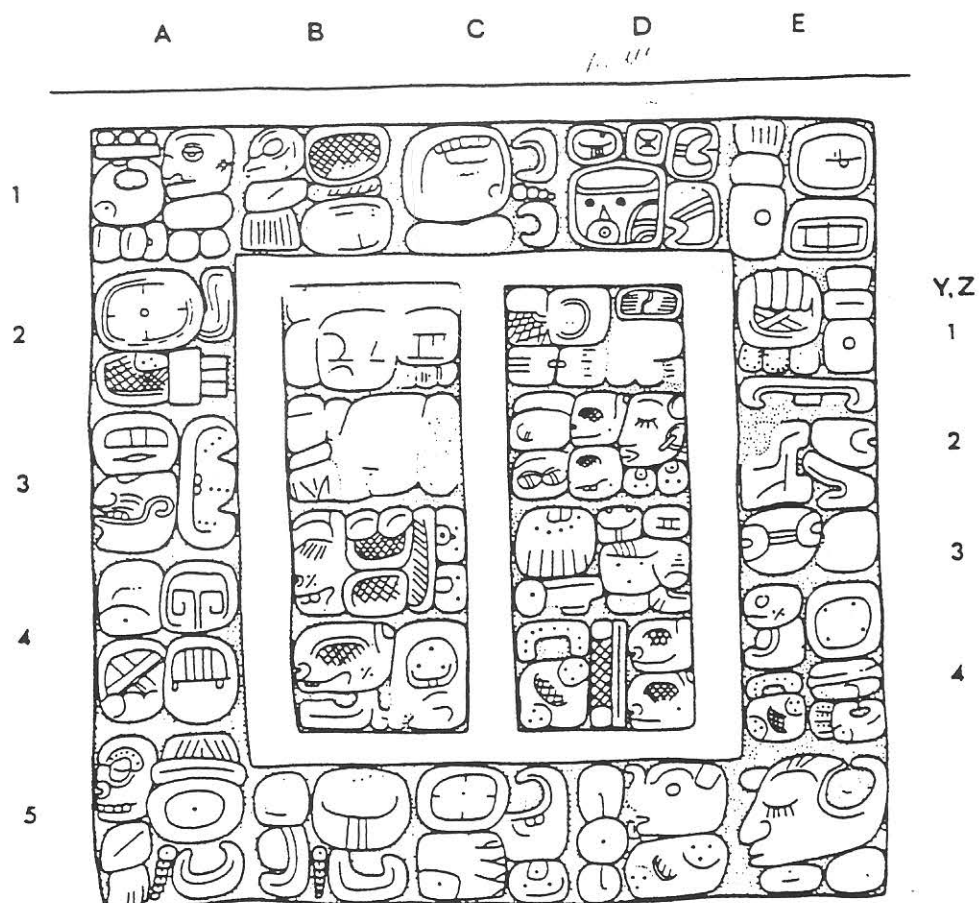
Lintel 2



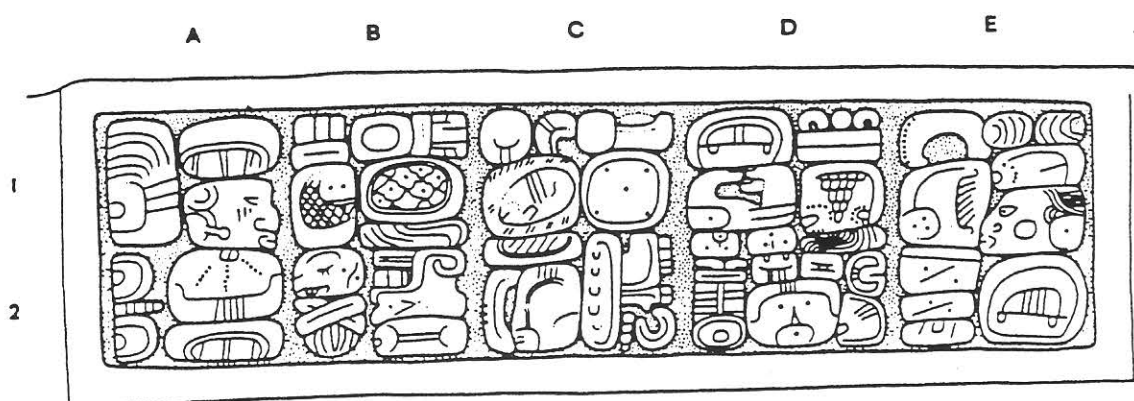


Lintel 3



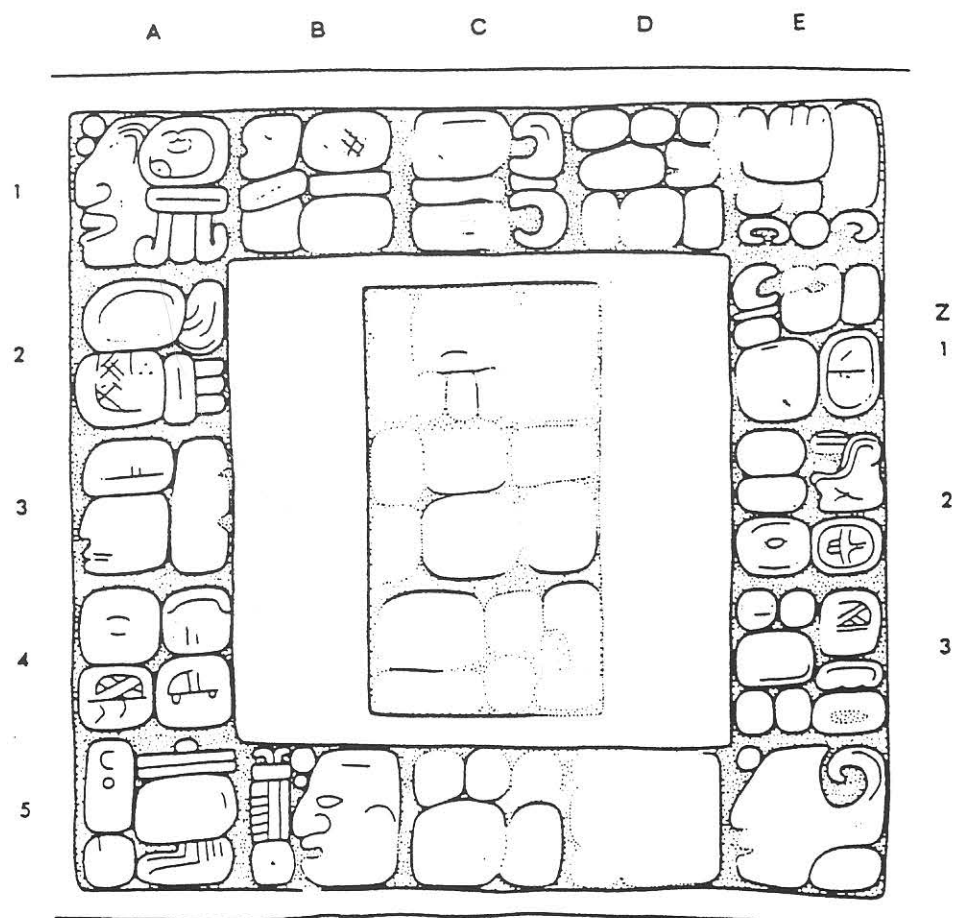


Lintel 4

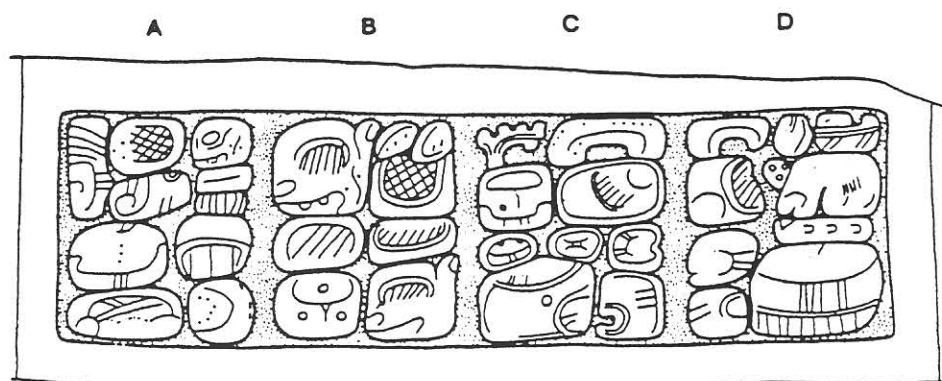


Lintel 4A

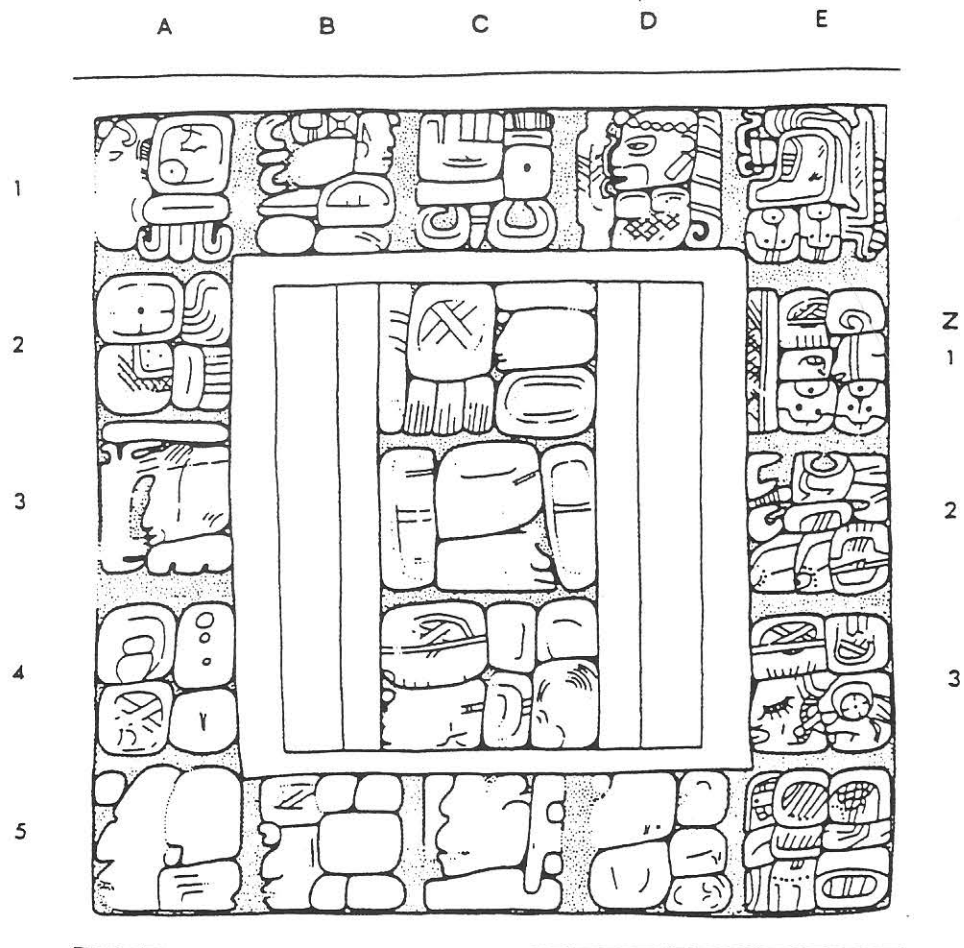




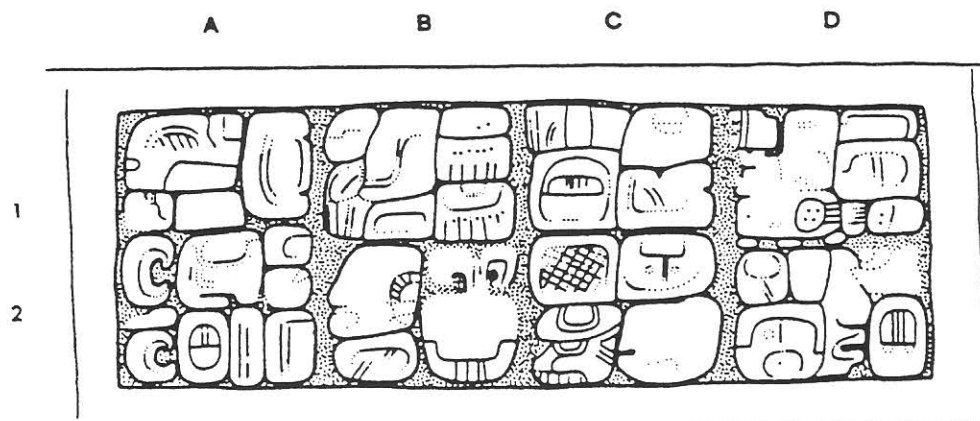
Lintel 5



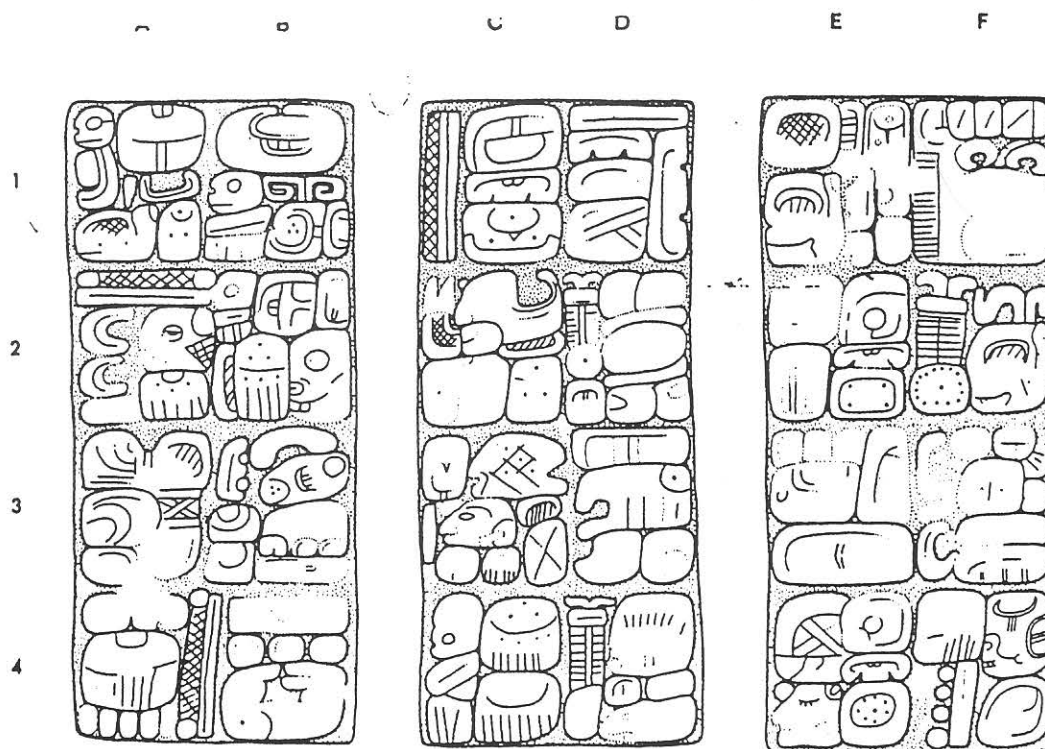
Lintel 5A



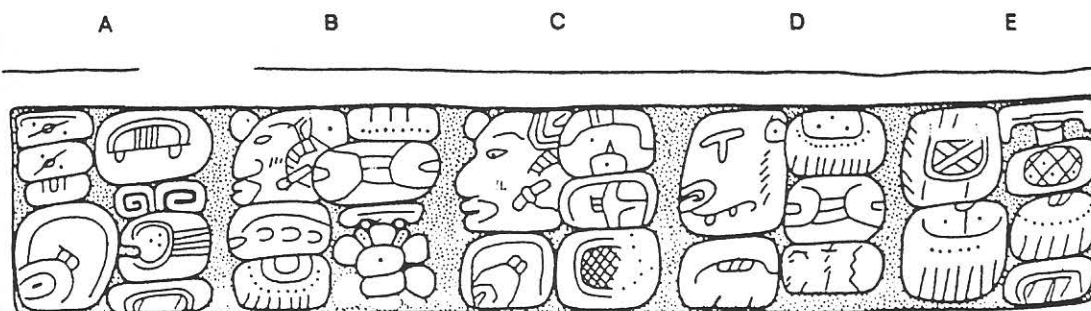
Lintel 6



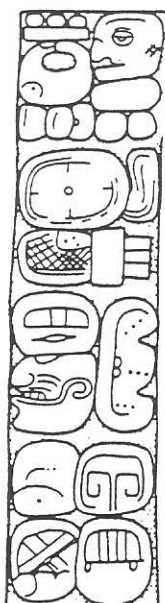
Lintel 6A



Lintel 7



Lintel 7A



The five doorways on the east side exhibit the same structure and are introduced by the same date, which is written as a Calendar Round 8 Manik' 15 Wo, followed by a Short Count *ti wal* 11 Tuun *ta* 1-Ajaw, "in the time of the 11<sup>th</sup> Tuun of the K'atun ending on the day 11 Ajaw". Linguistically important is the spelling of the month name Wo. The spelling combines the traditional Ch'olan month name (*ik'at*) with the Yucatec name Wo. It is difficult to reconstruct the motivation for the translation of the month names into Yucatec. In most writing traditions, calendrical names display a strong tendency for conservatism. The change of the month names suggests a strong concern with calendrical matters and probably a desire to adopt markers of high culture to local standards.

Each time the date is written it precedes a long dedication phrase, which always follows the same structure: *u-ti-ya a-ALAY-ya? K'AL-la-ja yu-xu-lu na-ja-la u-pa-ka-ba TUUN-ni-ya AJAW-wa ti-i-li yo-to-ti* for *uht-i-iy alay k'a[h]l-aj y-uxulnajal u pakab-tuun y-ajaw ti'il y-otoot*, "it happened here, it is displayed the carving of the intel-stone of the big? door of the house of ...". The use of *otoot* for "house" and *ti'* for "door" are linguistic markers of Ch'olan, although this evidence is still debatable, since *otoot* and *ti'* might reflect an old form of Yucatecan before the *t>ch* shift.

a



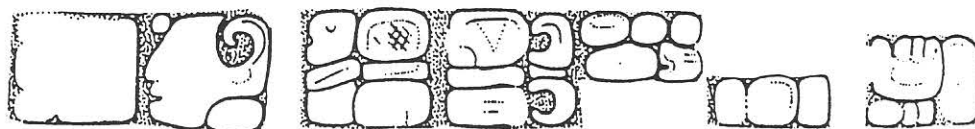
b



c



d



e



Each lintel then provides information on to whom the house belongs. The texts on Lintels 2 and 6 name two gods as their possessors, Yax ?-che Kan and Yax U K'uk'um K'awiil. Both play an important role in the texts of Chichen Itza and they have been mentioned previously in the Casa Colorada text, the One Lintel,

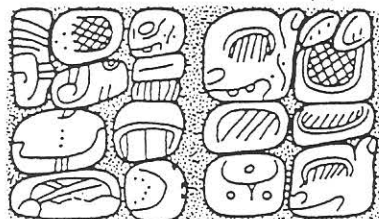
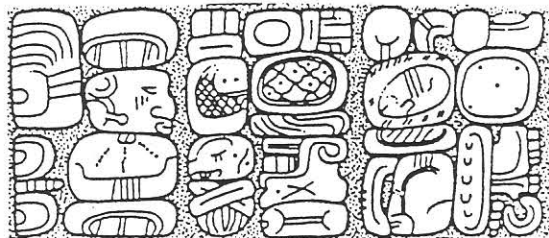


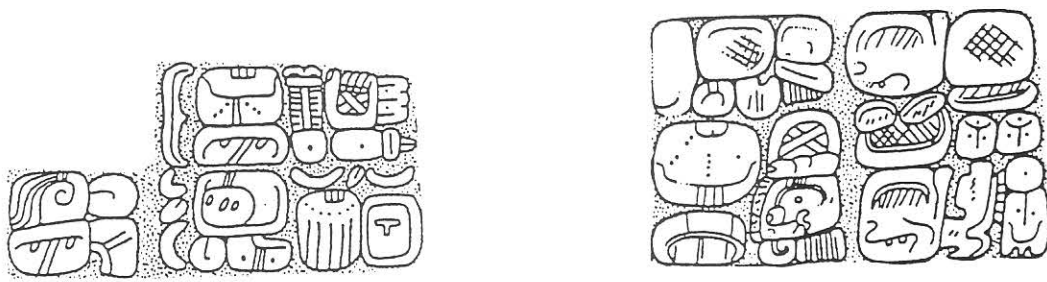
Three Lintel and Initial Series lintels. The other "owners" seem to be humans. Lintel 3 is possessed by Lady K'ayam, the mother of K'ak'upakal. Lintel 4 proclaims Chok wa-?-ab as the possessor, and Lintel 5 I-yajawal winik, a name or title we have met before in the Casa Colorada inscription. Each of these names, whether human or divine, is then related to a second nominal phrase, which also refers to individuals whose state of being is human or divine. These relationship statements and names extend into the text columns in the center of the undersides of the lintels. The relationships are

|          |  |             |                           |
|----------|--|-------------|---------------------------|
| Lintel 2 |  | y-itaj      | ?-Sabak Ajaw, Ohl-is K'uh |
| Lintel 3 |  | "mother of" | K'ak'upakal K'awiil       |
| Lintel 4 |  | y-itaj      | K'ak'upakal K'awiil       |
| Lintel 5 |  | y-itaj      | ?-K'uh                    |
| Lintel 6 |  | y-itaj      | Chanal K'uh               |

Many of the names are embedded in complex title phrases. This is especially the case with K'ak'upakal, who appears here more often than in any other text with his full name that includes the addition K'awiil. Among the titles used by K'ak'upakal are *u nun*, probably a high ranking office still not well understood, *baah te ajaw*, "first tree lord", *k'uhul aj k'ahk'*, "the divine person/keeper of the fire", *ch'ahom* "the one who scatters incense", and *sujuy* "clean, virgin".

The front sides of the Monjas lintels provide new information. In most cases, the relationship between the text on the underside and the messages on the front sides is still opaque. Lintels 2, 4 and 5 begin with the same phrase *yi-li-wa u-tzi-li*, *y-il-iw utz-il* "he sees the good things". In all three cases the next hieroglyphs are introduced by a preposition and a toponym, probably specifying the place where these "good things" are seen. The subject of the sentences follows next and is either K'ak'upakal (Lintels 2 and 5) or U Chok wa-?-ab (on Lintel 4).





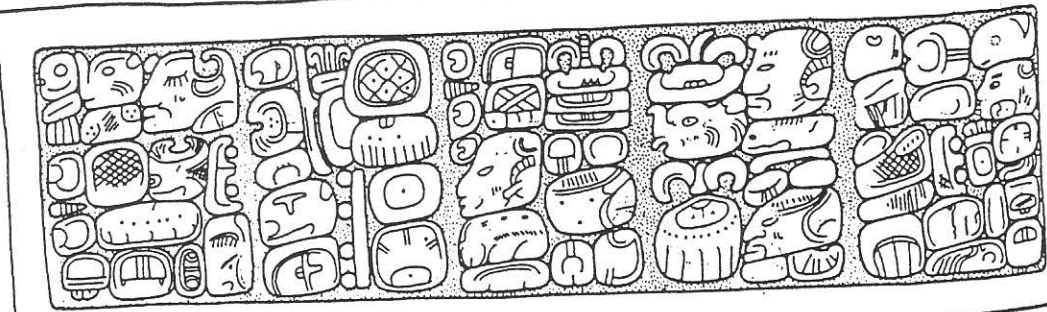
A

B

C

D

E



The front side of Lintel 3 begins with a different text, once again a dedication statement focusing on the sculpture of the lintel. Most of the syntax of the text is difficult to understand. However, the text provides another important relationship statement for Lady K'ayam by mentioning her mother, Lady Toon Ajaw. She was then the grandmother of K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko?-l on the side of the mother.

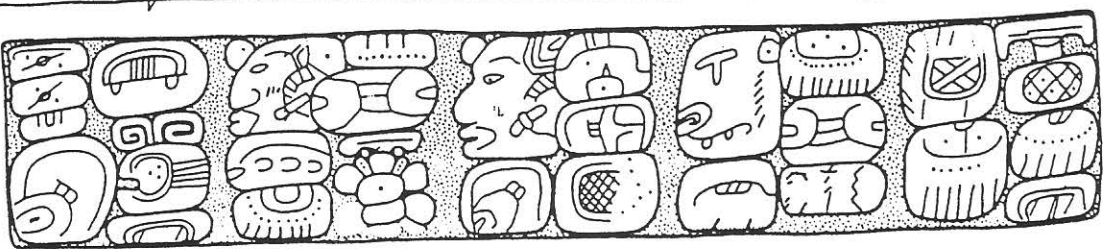
A

B

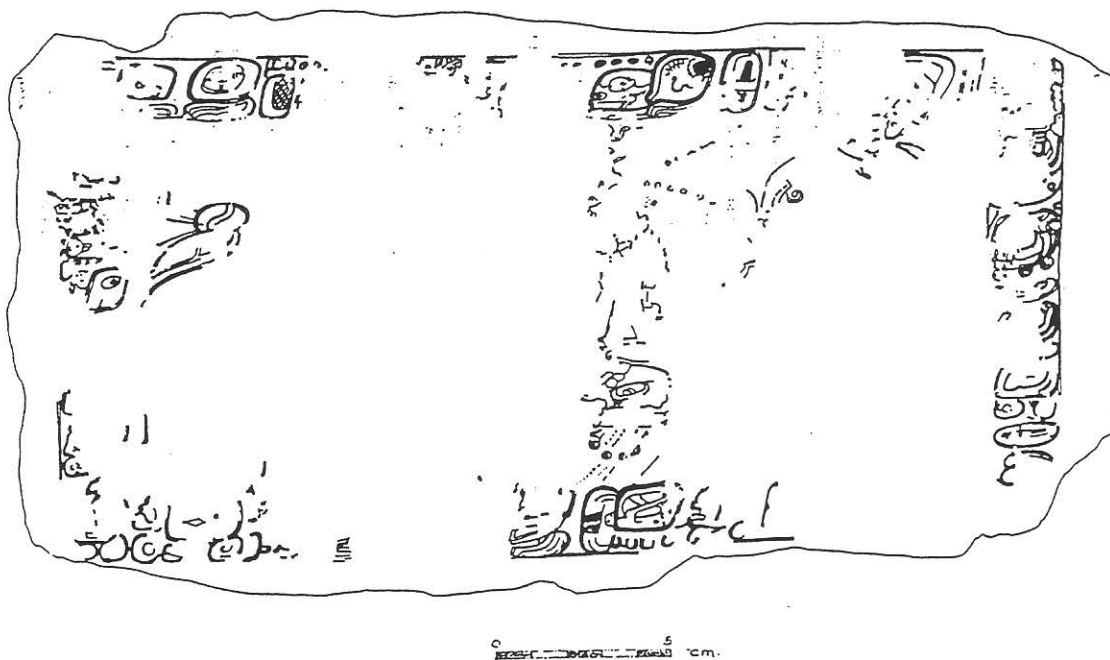
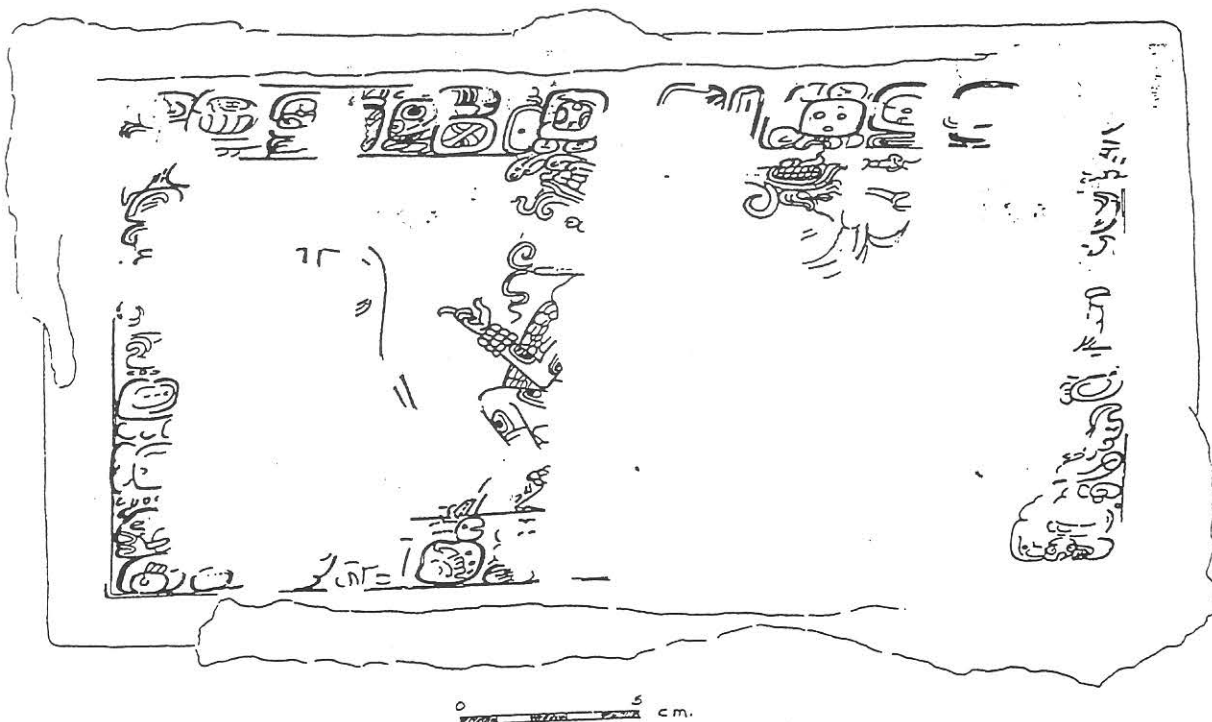
C

D

E



The doorway on the east side of the Monjas is supported by Lintel 7. This lintel has a different layout; the hieroglyphs are arranged in three double columns. Lintel 7 forms the counterpart to Lintel 1, which is less well preserved. The text on the underside of the lintel starts with a dedication formula, here written entirely with syllabic signs. Most of the rest of the text still escapes our understanding. The front of the lintel, however, begins with the demonstrative *ha't* "these", followed by *u-wo-jo-li*, *u wojol* "are the hieroglyphs of". The possessor of the hieroglyphs is a female with a name that can probably read as *IX-o-ko le-ma*, *Ix Ok Lem*, "Lady foot of the lightning". This woman is said to have been *u-mi-mi*, *u mim* "the maternal grandmother" of the woman whose name glyph follows. Unfortunately, both names occur only once in the hieroglyphic record of Chichen Itza and therefore cannot be linked to any other historical individual from the site.



### Chichen Itza, Monjas, East Annex, Capstones, in K'atun 1 Ajaw

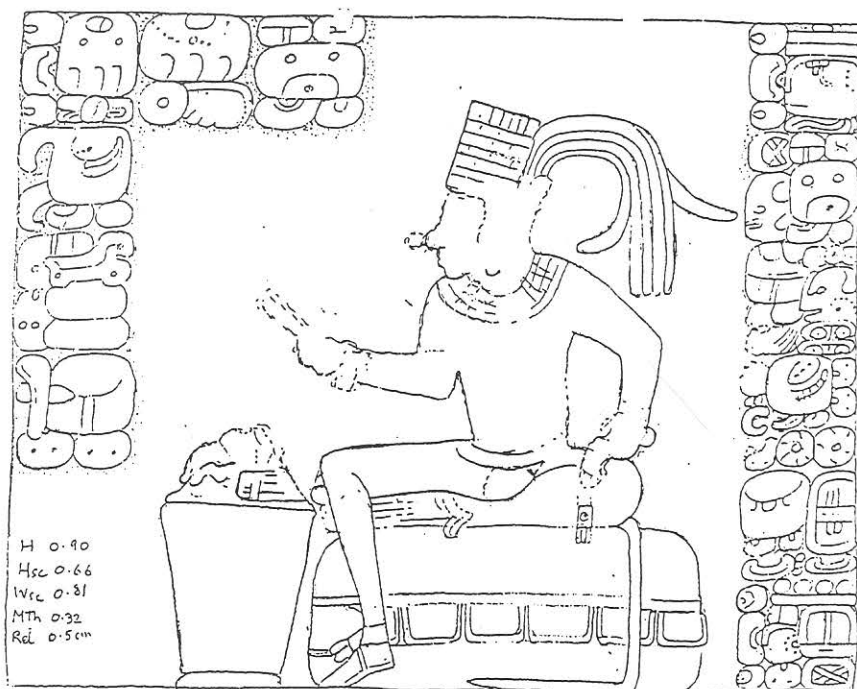
(Drawings by Ian Graham)

Although several dates have been suggested for the two painted capstones from the east annex of the Monjas building, none of the suggestions can really be supported by the fragmentary inscriptions. Both lintels had Calendar Round dates. The north capstone carried a date ? Imix 10 Sip. This day occurred within a K'atun that ended on a day Ajaw. The coefficient before the Ajaw was written with a head variant with a syllabic suffix, possibly *ni*. If this is the case, the most likely number would have been one, *jun*. Note the unusual spelling of the *ti wal* "within the time of" expression – the main sign is the logogram from the 819 day count verb, which often is found with a prefixed phonetic complement *wa*. Because of the very fragmentary nature of the two capstones there is not much more that can be said about them.

**Chichen Itza, Akab Dzib,  
10.2.11.0.0 11 Tun in 1 Ajaw  
(880)**

(Drawing by Ian Graham)

The underside of the Akab Dzib lintel shows a lord seated on a cushion or throne in the pose of "royal ease". In front of him stands a conical object, probably an incense burner or receptacle for offerings. The text identifies the figure as *ya-ja-wa la-cho-?*, Yajawal Cho-?, a lord who on the front side of the lintel and the Casa Colorada inscription is associated with the title *k'uhul kokom*, "divine Kokom". Here, he carries the additional titles *ch'ak (h)ol*, "head cutter" and *baah te' ajaw*, "first tree lord".

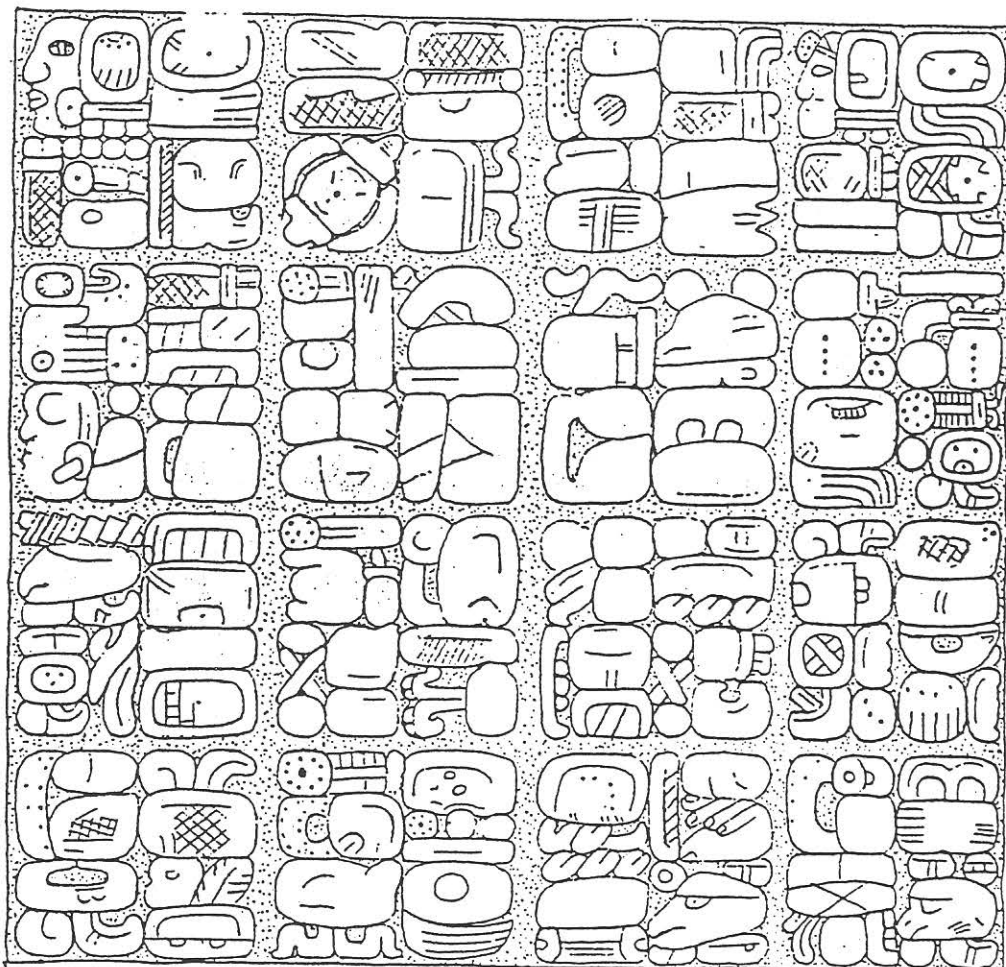


**Yula, Lintel 2  
10.2.11.14.1 6 Imix  
4 Sek (March 22,  
881)**

(Drawing by Ian Graham)

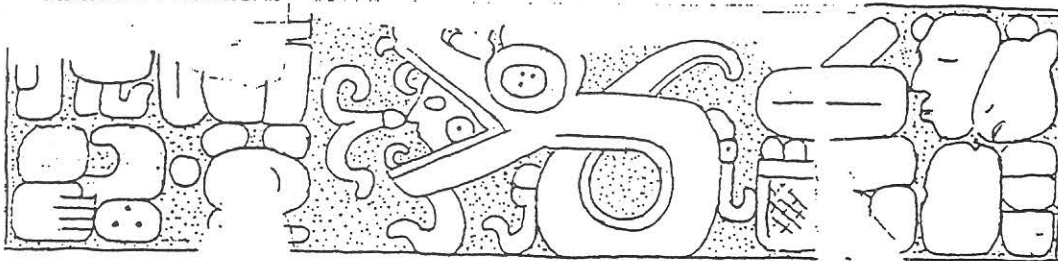
The first date on Yula Lintel 2 often is erroneously translated as 2 Imix 4 Mak. All available drawings show, however, that the coefficient for the day has a small axe in the eye, the characteristic feature of the head variant for the number six. The month is written *ka-se-wa*, which is the Classic lowland form of the month later known as Sek.

The main part of the text begins with a dedication formula focusing on the display (*k'a[h]laj*) of the hieroglyphs of a woman, whose nominal phrase is too eroded to provide

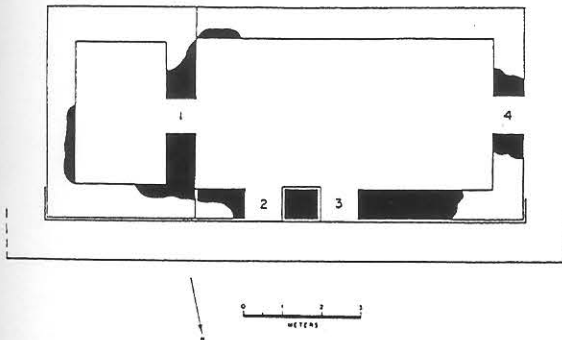




any clues to its reading. Because of the heavy erosion of much of the text, very little can be said about much of the rest. The remaining text contains the name of K'ak'upakal as well as that of a local lord, To'ok Yas Ajaw, K'uhul Um and a lord related to a place **ka-la-ke ji-to-ko AJAW** (note that the toponym is written here with an unglottalized *k*). The text also makes reference to a fire drilling (**jo-ch'a k'a-K'AHK'**).



Yula Lintel 2, front side



**Chichen Itza, 4 Lintels, Lintels 1, 3, and 4 10.2.12.1.8 9  
Lamat 11 Yax (July 13, 881)**

(Drawing by Ruth Krochock)

The Temple of the Four Lintels is located at the end of Sacbe 7, between the Temple of the One Lintel and the Temple of the Three Lintels. Sacbe 7 connects the Monjas in an almost straight line with the platform, on which the Temple of the Four Lintels is located. The temple is a building of two rooms. The first room can be entered through three doorways. These are supported by Lintels 2, 3 and 4. The second room can only be reached from the first room through a doorway, which is covered by Lintel 1.

All four lintels carry dates. The dates of Lintels 1, 3 and 4 are the same, only Lintel 2 records a date 16 days later. As shown by Ruth Krochock, the first passage on each lintel is a self-referential text recording the dedication of the lintel: **u-xu-lu-na ja-ki u-pa-ka-ba ti-i-li u-k'a-li yo-to-ti**, for *uxul-naj-ki u pakab ti'il k'al y-otoot*, "it is carved the lintel of the doorway of the enclosure/room of the house of". These dedication phrases are followed by extended nominal phrases of the gods who were supposed to be the owners of this house:

Lintel 1: K'uh Bolon Ajaw Yax ?-che Kan Ajaw

Lintel 2: u k'uhil K'inil Ko-?-l, "the gods of K'inil Ko-?-l"

Lintel 3: choch yok puy

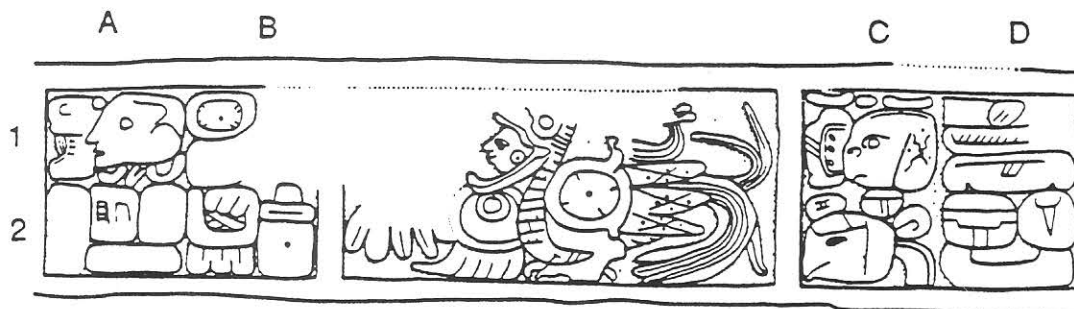
Lintel 4: Yax ?-che Kan Ajaw 16 yo-K'IN(?) K'uh

This shows that the gods from Lintel 1 and 4 were the same, and indeed both lintels are in the same axis of the building. Regrettably, most of the texts, which follow the dedication phrase still remain little transparent, partly because they are eroded (as on Lintel 3), or because they are composed of idiosyncratic glyphs not found anywhere else. It seems that the main topic of the lintel texts were descriptions of ritual activities conducted by K'ak'upakal and K'inil Ko-?-l in connection with the mentioned gods.

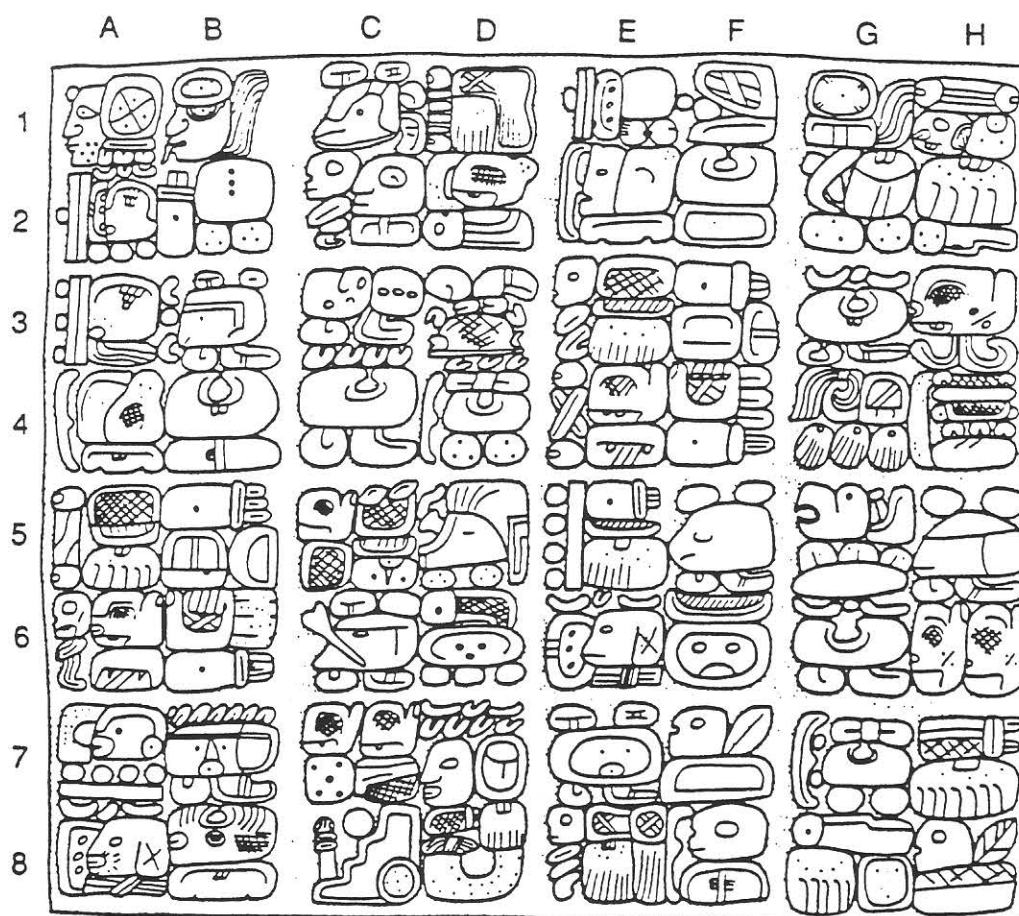
The underside of Lintel 3 is severely eroded, but the text on the front can be read. It begins with an introductory glyph and a 13 Tun glyph, which is an abbreviated reference to the date of the lintel. The next three hieroglyphs read **yo-to-ti OX-mu-lu WITZ?-te**, *y-otoot ox-mul witz?-te*, "it is his house, three-hill mountain-tree", and this was **u-K'ABA-ba**, *u k'aba* "the name of" **u-k'a-li cho-cho-yo-ko-pu-yi**, *u k'al choch yok puy* "the enclosure/room of Choch Yok Puy". Choch Yok Puy is the name of the god who is described as the owner of the house on the underside of the lintel. Here there are further appellatives associated with his name: **CHAN-na-K'UH na-chi-li**, *chan k'uh, nachil* "the sky god, the distant one". *Nachil* is translated in Yucatec as "distant, foreign", and both meanings could be implied here. The final two glyphs connect the preceding with the name of K'inil Ko-?-l. Unfortunately, the glyph between the name of the god and K'inil Ko-?-l has not yet been deciphered.

There are only a few passages from Lintel 4, which we understand enough to present a translation. The third double column begins with a verbal phrase **ta-pa-li-ki k'a-K'AHK'**, *?-ma k'a-k'a ta to-TO'K'*

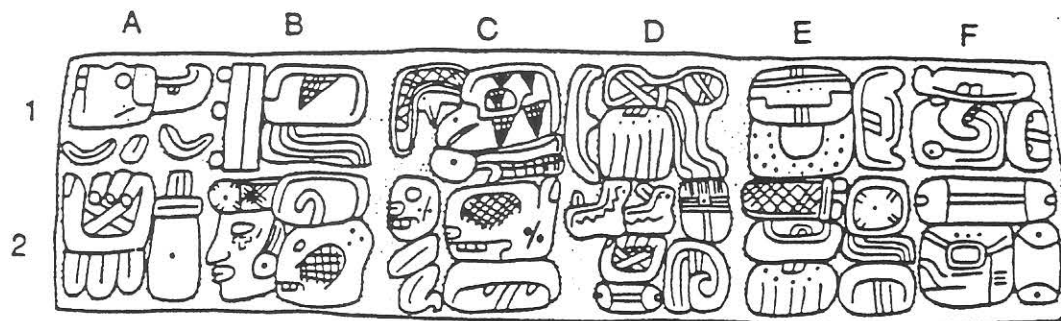
LINTEL 1a



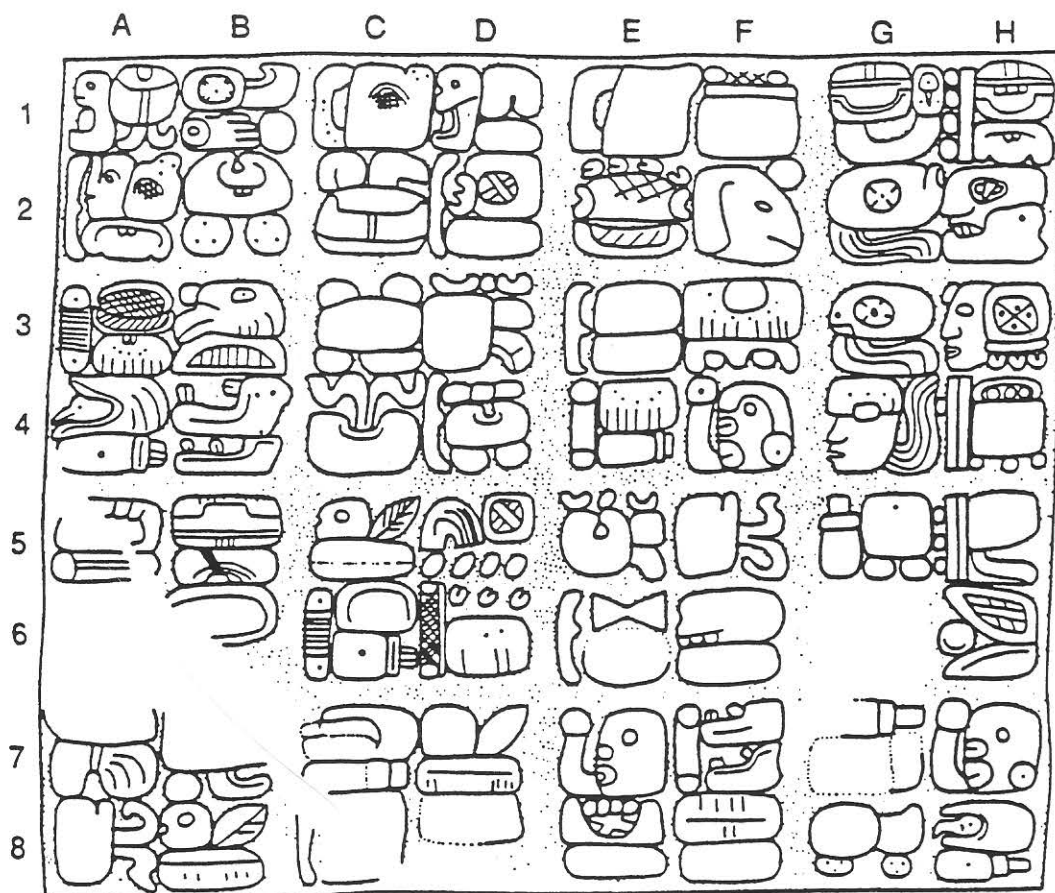
LINTEL 1



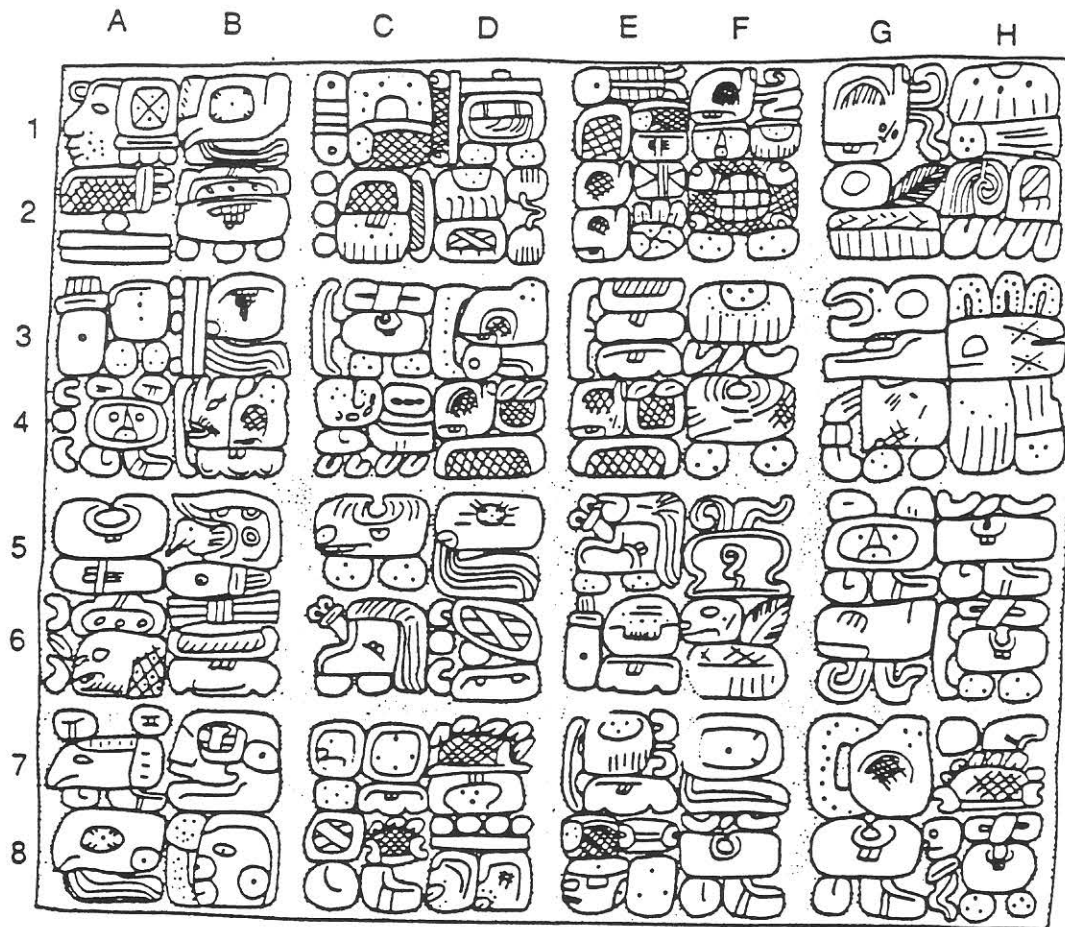
LINTEL 3a



LINTEL 3

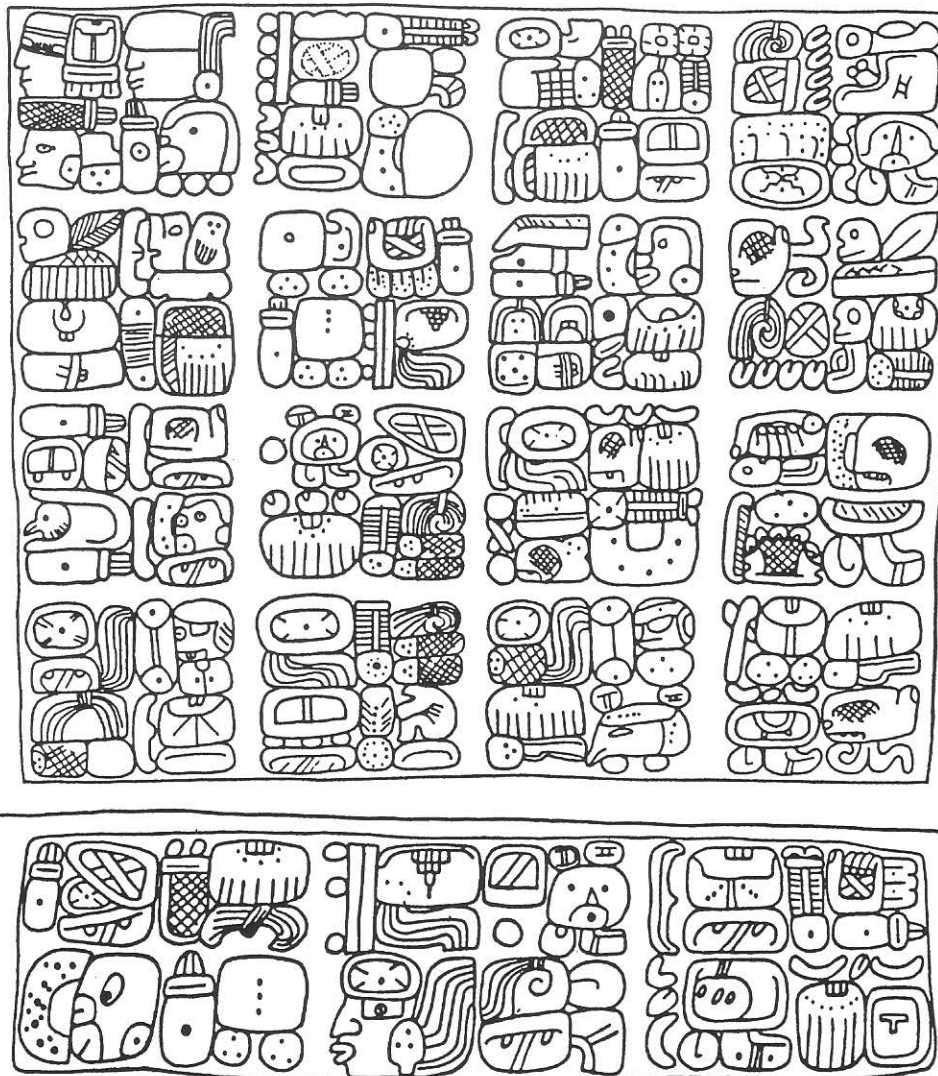


## LINTEL 4



**PAKAL-la**, for *tap-al-ki k'ahk'*, *?-m k'ahk' ta to'k' pakal*, "he extinguished the fire, he ? the fire for the flint shield". The semantics of the phrase are still problematic and depends on the understanding of To'k' Pakal as a war icon (flint and shield), or as Simon has recently suggested, a metaphorical expression for the army. The text continues with *u kanan may K'ak'upakal K'awiil*, "he is the guardian of the gift/offering, K'ak'upakal". *May* is understood here as the word for "offering". It is used in the same way on the Palace Tablet from Palenque, where it is written with a deer hoof - a homonym for *may*.





**Chichen Itza, 4 Lintels, Lintel 2 and 4, 10.2.12.2.4 12 K'an 7 Sak (July 29, 881)**

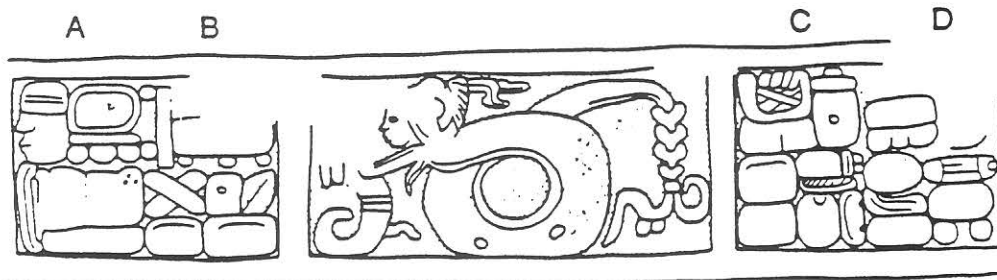
(Drawing by Ruth Krochock)

Like the other lintels from this building, Lintel 2 also begins with a date and a long dedication text for a deity. In this case, the deity is not named and only referred to as "the god of K'inil Ko-?-l". There are several other events described on the lintel, many of them are still difficult to read and interpret.

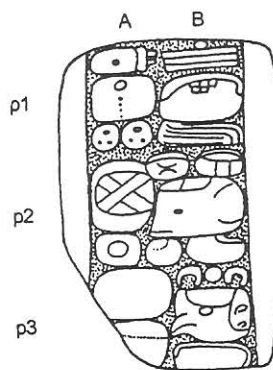
Immediately after the dedication phrase there is another *y-il-wa u-tzi-li*, *y-il-iw utz-il* "he sees the good things" formula, which we have seen before on the Monjas Lintels. Another event described is **PET-la-ja yo-to-ti**, an event based on the root *pet*, which is found often in dedication texts from the western Puuc region. After a restatement of the date – *ti wal* 13 Tuun (in) 1 Ajaw – there is another, unusual verb. Erik Boot has suggested to read this hieroglyph **CHAN-ba** and supports his reading of the superfix over the **ba** sign with a substitution pattern at Uxmal, where this sign seems to represent the logogram **CHAN**. *Chanba* is glossed in Yucatec dictionaries as "festival". The next four hieroglyphs eventually provide the explanation for the type of festival that was celebrated: *ta-yi-li-li K'IN-ni*, *ta-yi-li-li HAAB-li*, *ta y-il-il k'in*, *ta y-il-il haab-il*, "for seeing the day, for seeing the year". The subject of the sentence and possessor of the *y-ilil* "seeing" nouns follows in the glyph of the crouched headless body with the prefixed *o* sign.

The second text column repeats the dedication text and once again gives as the owner of the house only the little specific information *k'uh* "god". The text continues with a reference to something that happened to *u-K'IN-ni*, *u k'in* "his day" and *ya-k'a-ba*, *y-ak'ab* "his night". The end of the text consists of three nominal phrases, which include K'inil Ko-?-l and two other lords. Their names are connected to each other with the *y-itaj* statement.

## LINTEL 4a



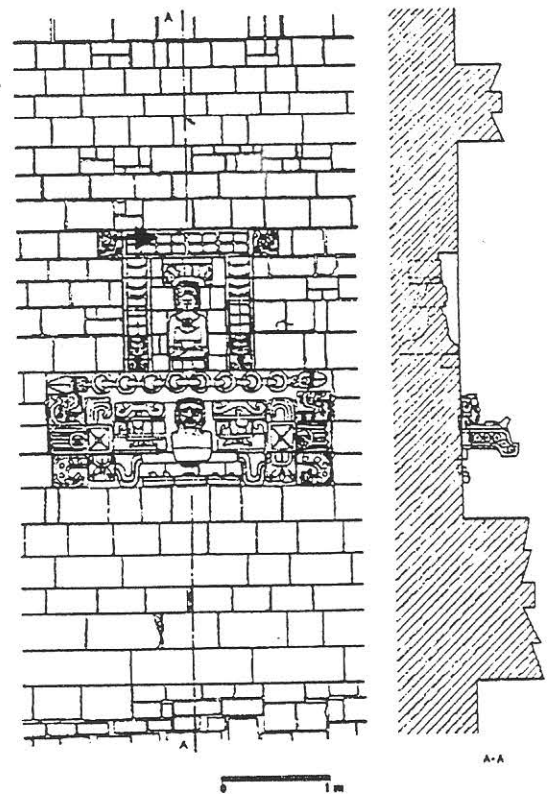
Lintel 4, front, with the 10.2.12.2.4 date



**Chichen Itza, Caracol,  
Fragment 17, 10.2.16.0.0 16  
Tun in 1 Ajaw (887)**

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

This text fragment just records a single date "... within 16 Tun in 1 Ajaw". The partially preserved two following glyphs surely recorded the event. This cartouche was part of a larger text that was composed of several glyphic stones. According to Karl Ruppert, these stones formed a frame around niches at the outside of the Caracol. The niches contained human figures.

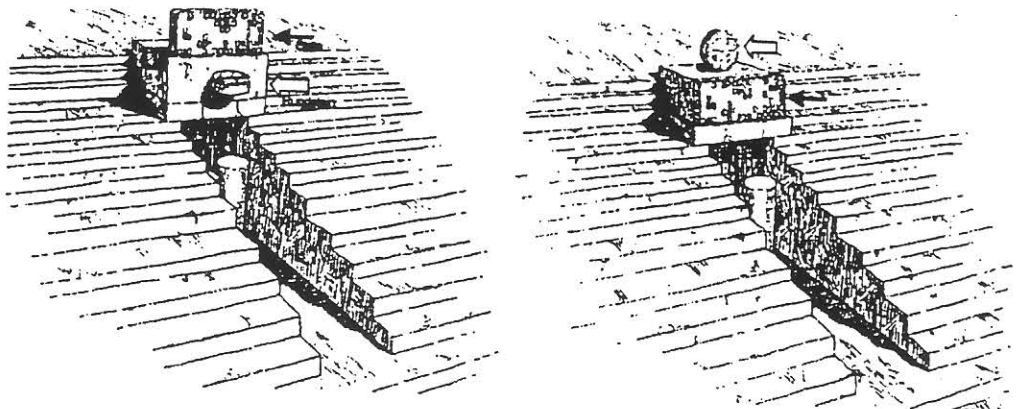


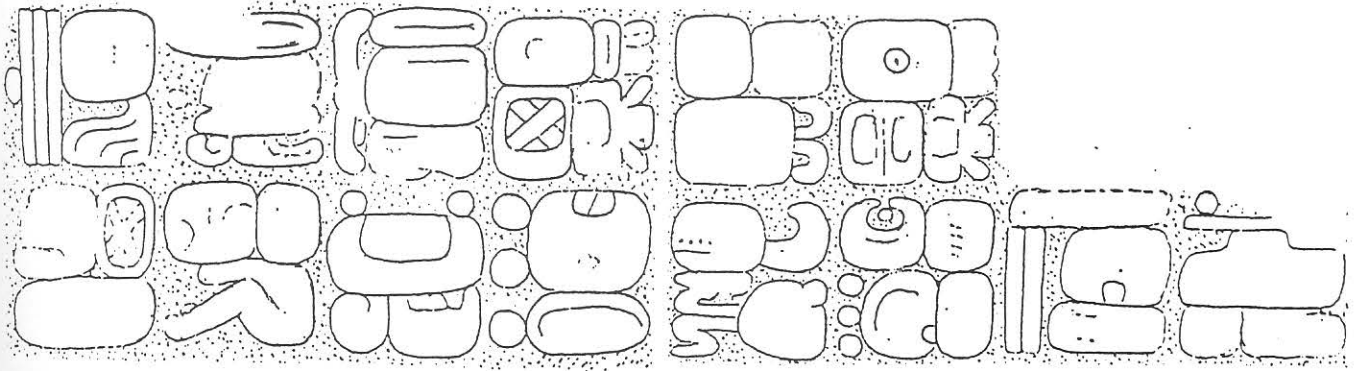
Original location of the glyphic fragments  
from the Caracol (after Ruppert 1935).

**Chichen Itza, Caracol "Stela", 10.2.16.0.0 16 Tun in 1 Ajaw (887)**

(Drawing by Ian Graham)

Except for the date, there is not much other information that can be extracted from this phrase at the beginning of the Caracol "stela" inscription. This monument is called a stela, although it was more likely a panel. When it was found during the Carnegie excavations of the Caracol it had fallen down and the original position could not be determined any more. Ruppert proposes two possible arrangements for the "stela" in relation to the Caracol. Note that the position of the circular altar from the Caracol is not known either.





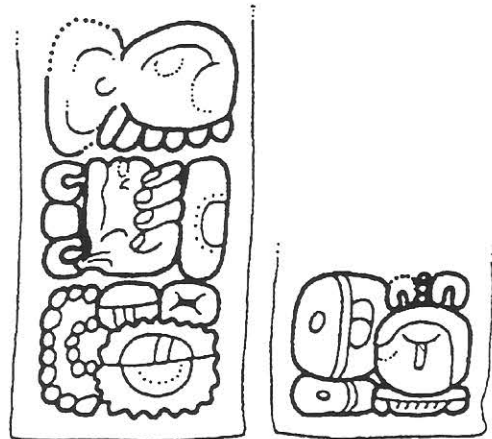
**Chichen Itza, Caracol "Stela", 10.2.17.0.0 17 Tun in 1 Ajaw (886)**

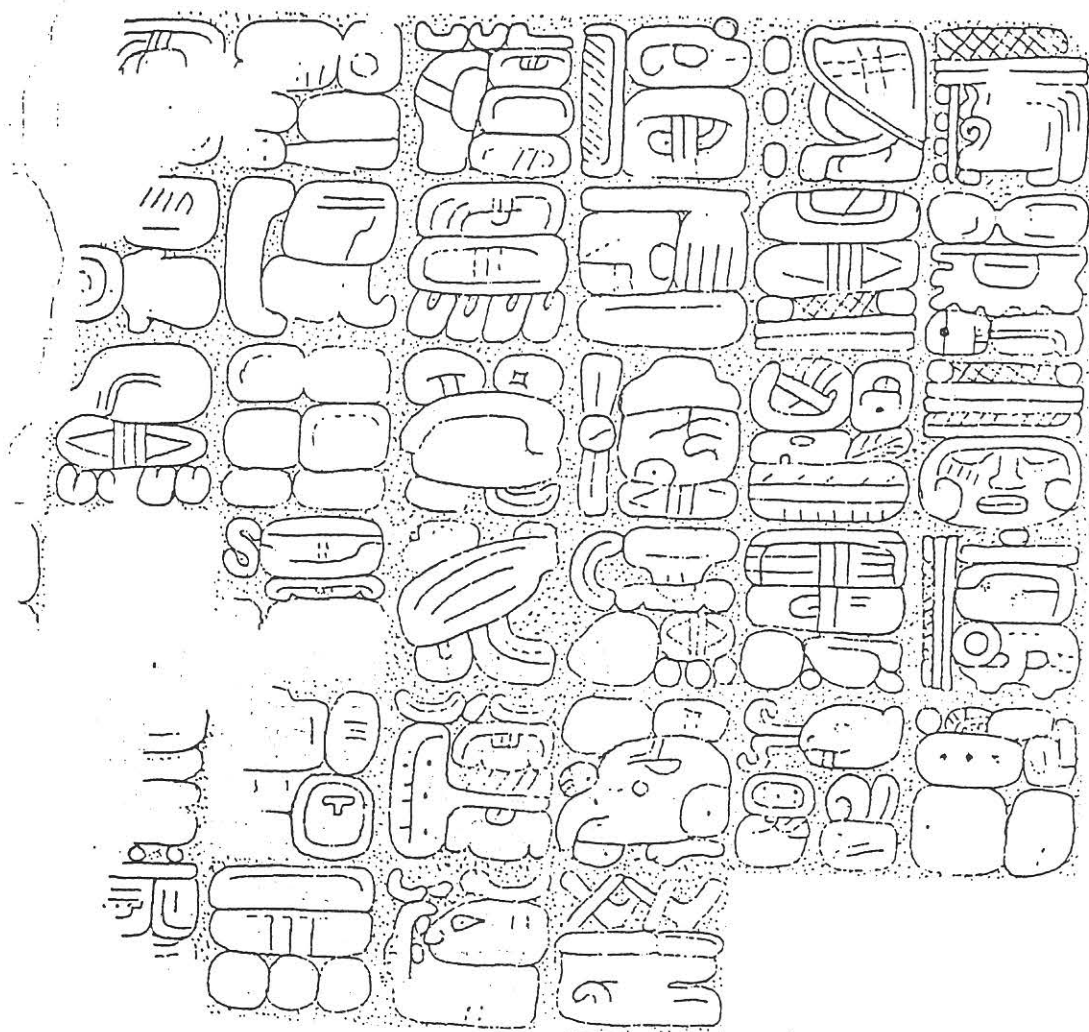
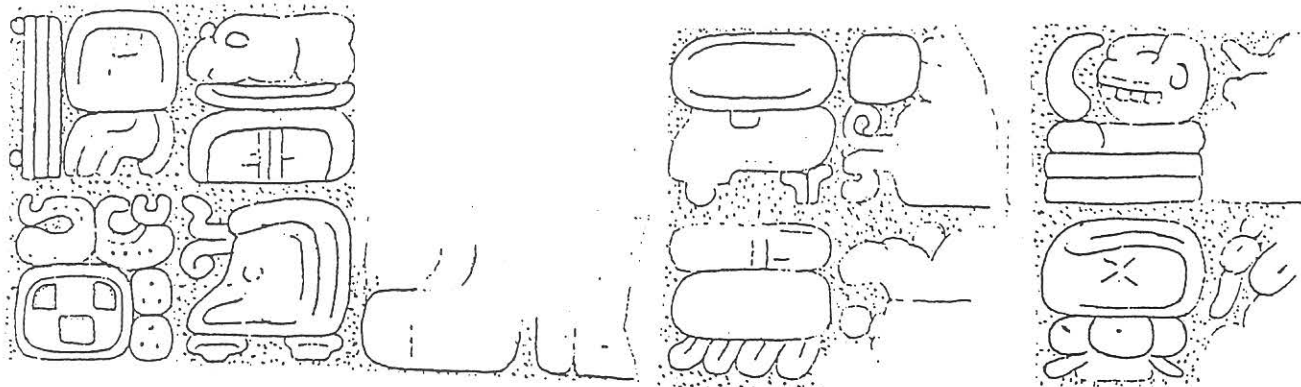
(Drawing by Ian Graham)

The event described is based on the famous, though little-understood "rabbit verb". There are good arguments for a *pe* reading of the rabbit main sign. A similar sign occurs in the Landa alphabet with the letter "p", and the toponym rabbit-TUUN (probably the ancient name for La Mar) is sometimes written with an inserted *e* as in rabbit-e-TUUN, supporting an *e* vowel of the sign. If this reading holds true, *pe-ka-ki* can probably related to Ch'olan *pek* "shout, proclaim, read", and *-ki* could be the common verbal suffix of intransitives at Chichen Itza. The agent of this phrase is K'ak'upakal K'awiil, whose name is written here in a different form, **K'AHK'-k'u-PAKAL-la K'AWIIL-la**.

The "Stela" is broken in the middle, and two double columns of text are almost entirely missing. The possibility that there was another date and verb recorded cannot be excluded. However, it is equally possible that the text continued on the other side of the panel with the same date. Most of the text on the right half of the monument consists of *y-itaj* glyphs and series of names. While some of the names seem to be those of humans, others are probably variants of those deities, which we have seen before in the texts of the city (**ya-YAX-na-ka-na ya-Yax-?-che**).

The last column of text contains a hieroglyph, which can be partially read as *?-tza-a*. Many scholars, including Linda Schele, Erik Boot and Nikolai have taken this as a spelling for the word *itza'*, the name of a family or social group, which according to the Chilam Balam books played such a central role in the history of the city. The hieroglyph *itza'* shows up for the first time on the feet of an Early Classic incised tripod now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. In that text, the glyph is part of the title **i-tza-a-AJAW**, and the presence of a clear *i* vowel sign infixed into the *tza* syllable leaves no doubt that *itza'* was the word intended. In connection with *ajaw*, *Itza* probably was understood as a toponym for the region north of the Lake Peten Itza in Guatemala. *Itza* (or probably *itz*) also shows up as part of an emblem glyph of a foreign lord on a stela from Motul de San José at the northern shore of the Lago Peten. This makes it very likely that *Itza* was a toponym in the Southern Lowlands and gives some credibility to the migration stories described in the Chilam Balam books. At the same time, in the inscriptions of Chichen Itza the term – if correctly deciphered – shows up in marginal contexts and only in the latest inscriptions from Chichen Itza, suggesting that the *Itza* did not play a major role during the Classic florescence of the city. Furthermore, the decipherment of the hieroglyph is questionable, since neither the infix can clearly be identified as an *i* sign, nor can the superfix be explained.







### Chichen Itza, Caracol Disk

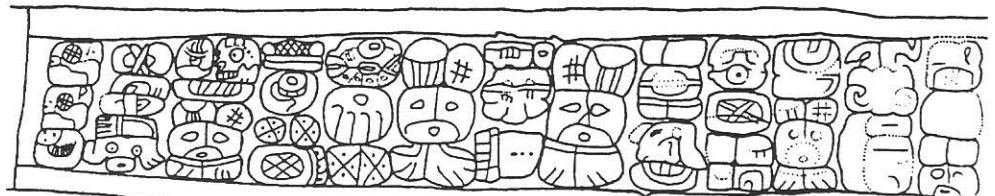
(Drawing of the surface: Ian Graham; inscription: Alexander Voß)

Although the circular Caracol disk cannot be dated with confidence, it is presented here as part of the whole set of text related to the Caracol, which apparently was a focus of late activities at Chichen Itza. The hieroglyphic inscription that runs around the disk is particularly difficult to read. The style of the hieroglyphs differs significantly from the well-executed calligraphy of the other Caracol glyphs.

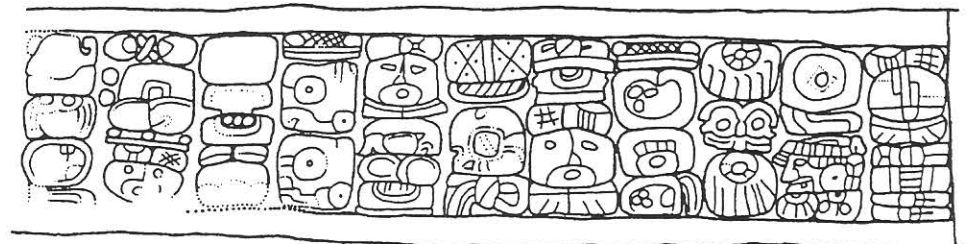
Most of the text is composed of names and **AJAW** glyphs. The various names are connected to each other with large *y-itaj* glyphs. Among the names that can be read is one that has been read as an "Itza Ajaw" (U), but we are reluctant to accept this reading because the spelling would be extremely problematic. One lord is probably called **AJ-jo-lo-TUUN-ni ba-la-ma**, *Aj Joltun Balam* (W, V) – Holtun today is a toponym of a place between Pisté and Chichen Itza. Finally in Block X there might be the name **ITZAM-ma-la**, *Itzamal*, which could be a reference to this important site and location west of Chichen Itza. The front side of the disk shows a congregation of various lords who are engaged in a ritual that involves a large brazier. The nominals from the inscription certainly provide the names of the participants shown.

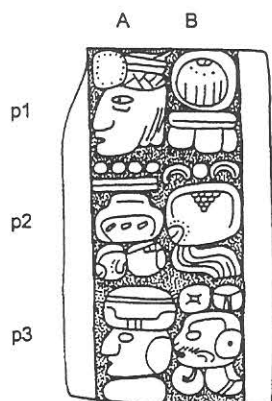


A B C D E F G H I J K L M



O P Q R S T U V W X Y





**Chichen Itza, Caracol, Fragment 18, 10.3.0.2.1, 3 Imix 4 Ch'en [??] in the 1<sup>st</sup> Tun of 12 Ajaw (June 8, 889)**

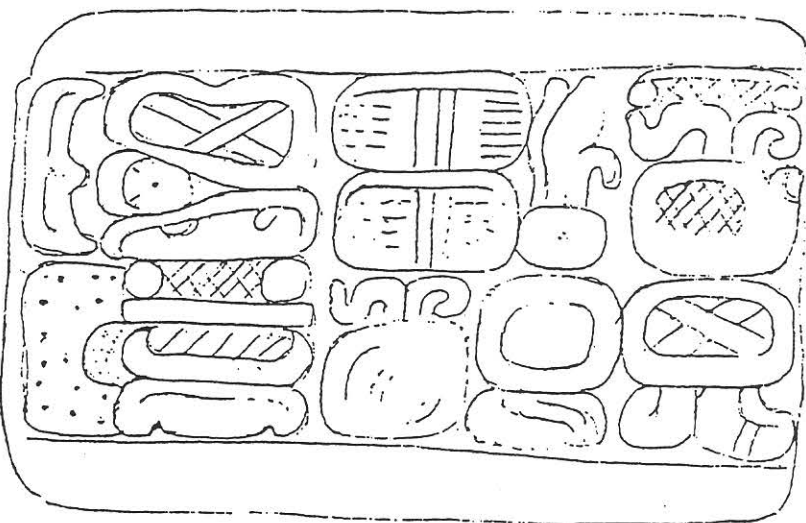
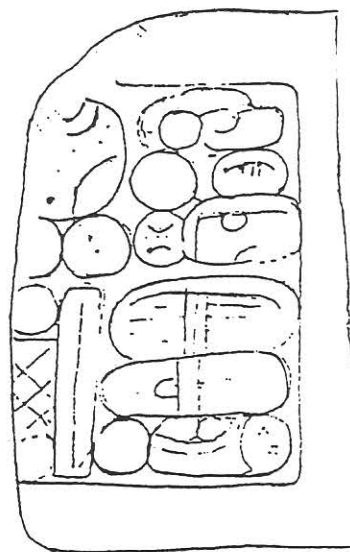
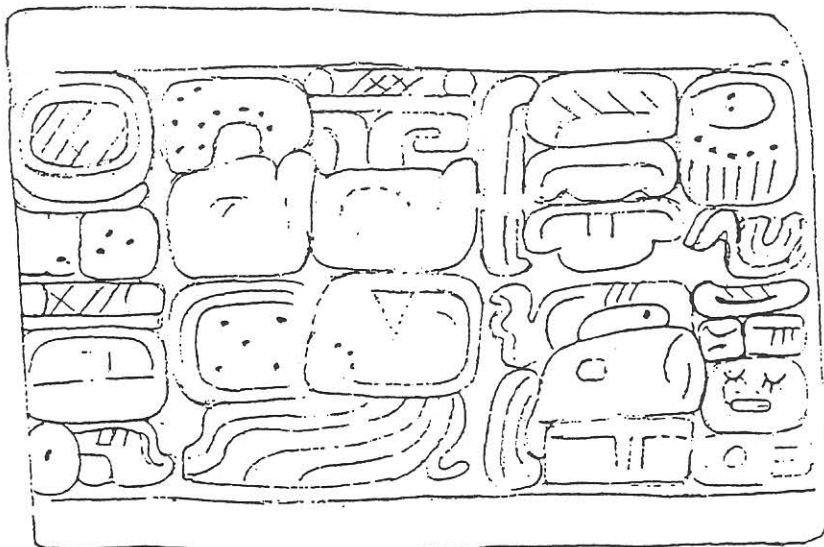
(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

This fragment from the Caracol carries a date only. The calculation of the date is highly problematic. The scribe must have made a mistake in some part of the date. I suppose that the 1<sup>st</sup> Tun in 12 Ajaw part of the date places it in the Tun that ends before 10.3.1.0.0. However, 3 Imix 9 or 14 Yax does not fit into this slot. 3 Imix 9 Yax would correspond to 10.7.0.5.1 (which would be in a K'atun 4 Ajaw). This solution seems unusually late in comparison to the other Caracol dates. The solution presented here requires a correction in the coefficient and colour of the month.

**Chichen Itza, Caracol fragments**

(Drawings by Ian Graham)

These fragments form part of the same hieroglyphic cartouches as the other Caracol fragments. Unfortunately, the fragments are incomplete and cannot be set in order in any more.

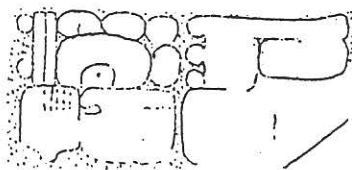
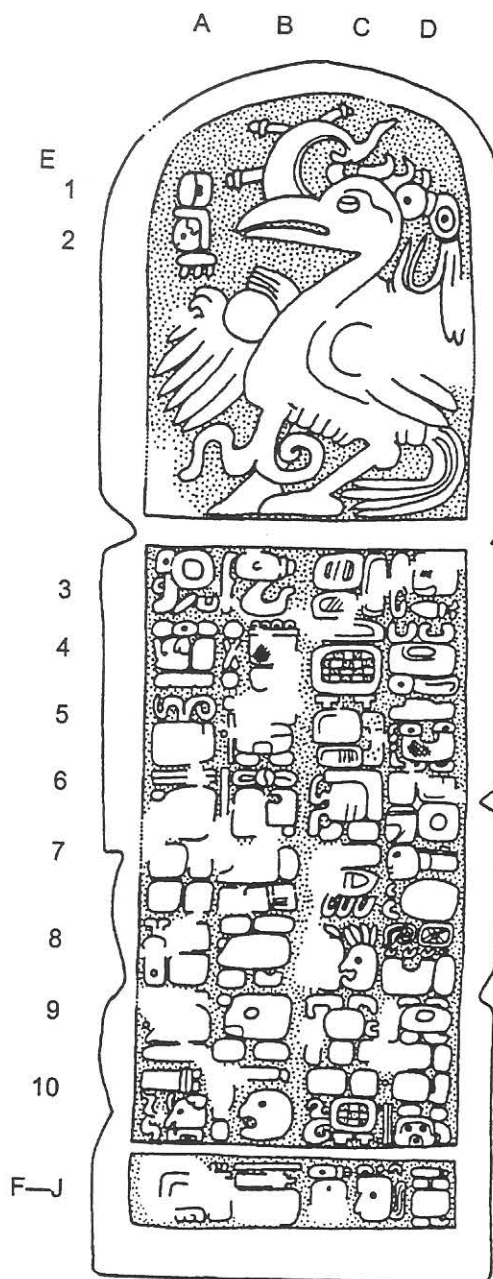


**Chichen Itza, Stela 2, 1 Tun 12 Ajaw (890)**

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

The fragments of the stela were located by Peter Schmidt between the Casa Colorada and the Casa del Venado. Some of the fragments have been known for some time, but it was Peter Schmidt who put the pieces together and discovered that the entire monument represents a stela. The top of the stela shows the common motif of a knife-winged bird; there are two round cartouches on the bird's wing which may have carried a sun and a moon sign.

The text begins with a dedication statement. Most of the rest of the text is so badly preserved that it is difficult to figure out the syntaax. In the second double column one of the common gods is named again – Yax U K'uk'um Kawiil. There are several *y-itaj* phrases which combine this and other names of humans and divinities with what seems to be a last mention of K'ak'upakal at the bottom of the text.

**Chichen Itza, Caracol Stela, 12 Ajaw (909)**

(Drawing by Ian Graham)

This is the last date from the Caracol stela. It could be the dedication date of the monument. Unfortunately, the associated glyphs are in a very sorry state.



**Itzimte, Stela 6 10.4.1.0.0 1 Tun in 10 Ajaw (910)**

(Drawing by Ian Graham)

The stela records the first Tun in K'atun 10 Ajaw, a K'atun, which ends in 10.5.0.0.0. At this time, hieroglyphic writing – at least on monuments – shows sign of a collapse. There are no phonetic complements any more, the Ajaw sign lacks its day sign cartouche. If the first hieroglyph after the date is a verb, it certainly lacks grammatical morphemes. It seems that Maya writing was making a development back to a purely logographic script, a phenomenon, which Stephen Houston has linked to "Script Death".

**Santa Rosa Xtampak, Stela 4, 2 Tun in 10 Ajaw (911)**

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

The hieroglyphic writing did not disappear instantly, but the poor quality of these texts shows that there was no community any more that was able to judge and evaluate the quality of the calligraphy. There are other monuments from Campeche and Yucatan which carry dates that may be even later than those from Itzimte and Santa Rosa Xtampak. In most cases, however, even the date is recorded in such an unusual fashion that a secure dating is difficult, if not impossible.

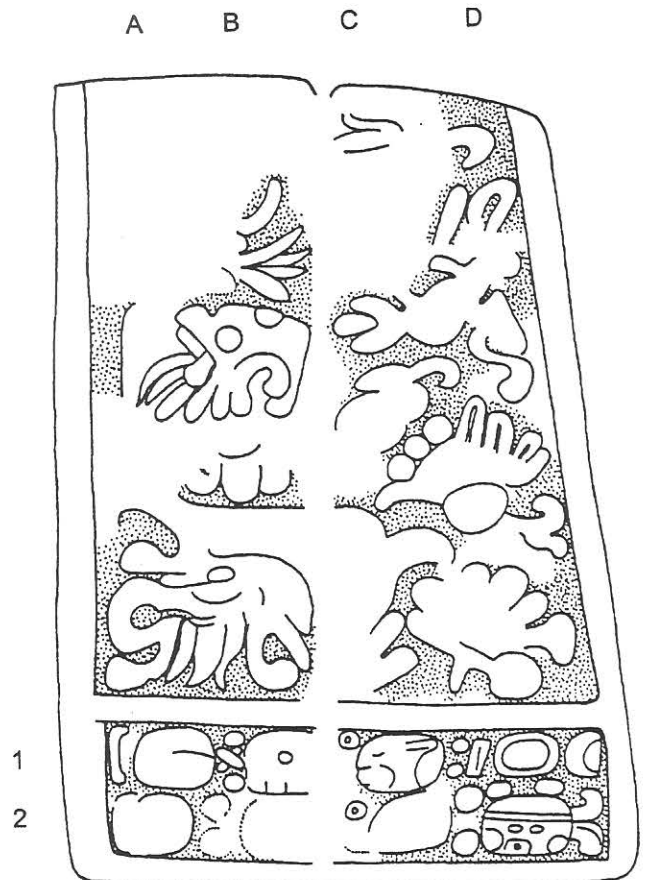
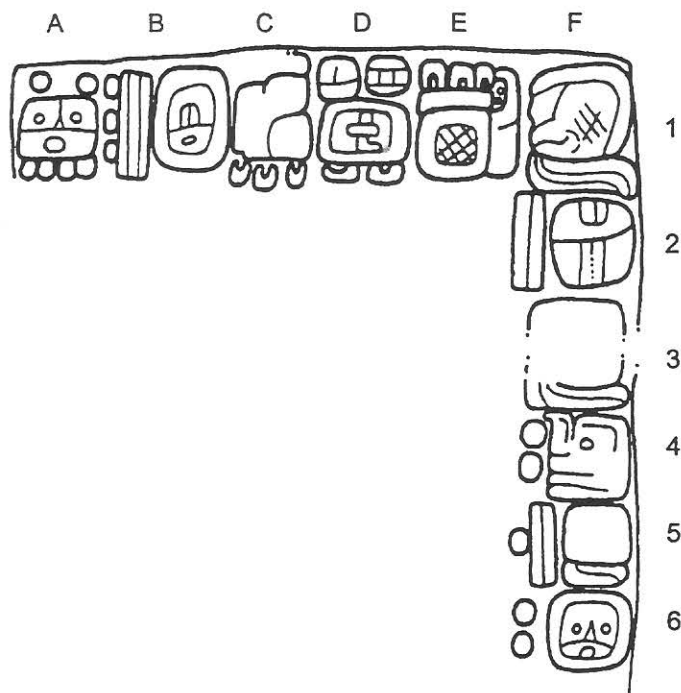




**Chichen Itza, Door Jamb from Structure 5B18, 10.8.7.0.0, 7 Tun in 2 Ajaw (994)**

(Drawing by Daniel Graña-Behrens)

If the reading of the date as proposed by Daniel Graña-Behrens is correct, this is another very late inscription from Chichen.



**Chichen Itza, High Priest's Grave Column 10.8.10.6.4 10 K'an 2 Sotz' (January 30, 998) and 10.8.10.11.0 2 Ajaw 18 Mol (May 6, 998)**

(Drawing by Elisabeth Wagner)

This short, but important inscription is carved on the eastern face of the southeast pillar on top of the High Priest's Grave. The pillar once supported the roof of the superstructure. The three other pillars are also carved but carry no hieroglyphic inscription.

The inscription on the pillar is significant mostly because of its late date. The date has been controversial for a long time, but Daniel Graña-Behrens, Elisabeth Wagner and Christian Prager have studied the plaster casts in the Peabody Museum and have been able to prove that the inscription carries two Calendar Round dates, one of which is firmly anchored in the chronology with a Tun-Ajaw expression. It seems that the earlier date was associated with the *tz'a[h]p-aj tuun* "it is erected the stela" phrase in E1-F1, and that the second date was followed by *u-bah-ji AJAW* "this is the image of the Ajaw". Since the High Priest's Grave otherwise is a building in the so-called "Maya-Toltec-style", this short text is evidence that Maya writing and "Toltec" architecture overlapped for some time in Chichen Itza.

## Relevant Sources

- Andrews, E. Wyllys, IV. and George E. Stuart  
1968 The Ruins of Ikil, Yucatan, Mexico. Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, Pub. 31: 69-80. New Orleans.
- Beyer, Hermann  
1937 Studies on the Inscriptions of Chichen Itza. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 483. Washington, D.C.
- Bolles, John S.  
1977 Las Monjas: A Major pre-Mexican Architectural Complex at Chichén Itzá. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Boot, Eric  
1995 Kan Ek' at Chich'en Itsa. A Quest into a Possible Itsa Heartland in the Central Peten, Guatemala. *Yumtzilob* 7(4): 333-340.
- 1997 Preliminary Notes on the 'Hieroglyphic Band' Fragments of the Caracol, Chich'en Itzá, Yucatán, México. *Yumtzilob* 9(1): 69-86.
- 2003 The inscriptions of Chichen Itza. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leiden.
- Dunning, Nicholas P.  
1992 Lords of the Hills: Ancient Maya Settlement in the Puuc Region, Yucatán, Mexico. *Monographs in World Archaeology* 15. Prehistory Press, Madison.
- García Campillo, José Miguel  
1995 Antroponimia y toponimia en las inscripciones mayas clásicas del norte de Yucatán. Ph. D. dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- 1997 Another link between ethnohistoric and epigraphic K'ak'upakals. *Yumtzilob* 9(1): 23-28.
- 1998 Textos augurales en las tapas de bóvedas clásicas de Yucatán. In: *Anatomía de una civilización: Aproximaciones interdisciplinarias a la cultura maya*, edited by Andres Ciudad et al.: 297-322. Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas, Madrid.
- 2000 Estudio introductorio del léxico de las inscripciones de Chichen Itzá. *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*, 831. Archaeopress, London.
- Graham, Ian  
1992 Uxmal. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 4, Part 2*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Mass.
- Graham, Ian and Eric von Euw  
1992 Uxmal, Xcalumkin. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 4, Part 3*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Mass.
- Graña-Behrens, Daniel  
2002 Die Maya-Inschriften aus Nordwestyukatan, Mexiko. Unpublizierte Dissertationsschrift, Universität Bonn.
- Graña-Behrens, Daniel, Christian Prager und Elisabeth Wagner  
1999 The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the "High Priest's Grave" at Chichen Itza, Yucatán, Mexico. *Mexicon* 22(3): 61-66.

Grube, Nikolai

- 1990 The Primary Standard Sequence on Chochola Style Ceramics. In: The Maya Vase Book, Volume 2 (edited by Justin Kerr): 320-330. Kerr Associates, New York.
- 1994 Hieroglyphic Sources for the History of Northwest Yucatan. In: Hidden Among the Hills: Maya Archaeology of the Northwest Yucatan Peninsula, edited by Hanns J. Prem: 316-358. Acta Mesoamericana 7, Verlag von Flemming, Möckmühl.
- 2003 Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Northwestern Yucatan: An Update of Recent Research. In: Escondido en la Selva, edited by Hanns J. Prem. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, D.F.

Grube, Nikolai and David Stuart

- 1987 Observations on T110 as the Syllable ko. Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing 8. Center for Maya Research, Washington, D.C.

Kowalski, Jeff Karl

- 1985 Lords of the Northern Maya. Dynastic History in the Inscriptions of Uxmal and Chichen Itza. Expedition 27(3): 50-60.
- 1986 Some Comments on Uxmal Inscriptions. Mexicon VIII(5): 93-95.
- 1994 The Puuc as Seen from Uxmal. In: Hidden Among the Hills: Maya Archaeology of the Northwest Yucatan Peninsula, edited by Hanns J. Prem: 93-120. Acta Mesoamericana 7, Verlag von Flemming, Möckmühl.

Kowalski, Jeff Karl, Alfredo Barrera Rubio, Heber Ojeda Más and José Huchim Herrera

- 1996 Archaeological Excavations of a Round Temple at Uxmal: Summary Discussion and Implications for Northern Maya Culture History. In: Sixth Palenque Mesa Redonda, edited by Merle Greene Robertson, Jan McHargue and Martha Macri: 281-296. The Precolumbian Art Research Institute, San Francisco.

Krochock, Ruth

- 1988 The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions and Iconography of the Temple of the Four Lintels and Related Monuments, Chichen Itza, Mexico. Unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Texas at Austin.
- 1989 Hieroglyphic Inscriptions at Chichen Itza, Yucatán, Mexico: The Temples of the Initial Series, the One Lintel, the Three Lintels, and the Four Lintels. Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing 23. Center for Maya Research, Washington, D.C.

Lacadena, Alfonso

- 2000 Nominal Syntax and the Linguistic Affiliation of Classic Maya Texts. In: The Sacred and the Profane – Architecture and Identity in the Maya Lowlands, edited by Pierre Robert Colas et al.: 111-128. Acta Mesoamericana Vol. 10, Verlag Anton Saurwein, Markt Schwaben.
- 2003 El corpus glífico de Ek Balam, Yucatán, México. Report submitted to FAMSI.

Lacadena, Alfonso y Andrés Ciudad

- 2000 Mas que militares y comerciantes: la continuidad de la escritura jeroglífica maya en los periodos postclásico y colonial. In: XIII Simposio de investigaciones arqueológicas en Guatemala 1999, edited by Juan Pedro Laporte et al.: 553-587. Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes/Instituto de Antropología e Historia, Guatemala.

- Lacadena, Alfonso, and Søren Wichmann  
 2002 The Distribution of Lowland Maya Languages in the Classic Period. In *La Organización Social entre los Mayas, Memoria de la Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Volume I*, edited by Vera Tiesler Blos, Rafael Cobos and Merle Greene Robertson: 79-100. Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Historia and Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, Mexico and Merida.
- Love, Bruce  
 1989 The Hieroglyphic Lintels of Yulá, Yucatán, México. *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing* 24. Center for Maya Research, Washington, D.C.
- Maldonado C., Rubén, Alexander Voss, and Angel Góngora  
 2002 Kalom Uk'uw, señor de Dzibilchaltun. In *La Organización Social entre los Mayas, Memoria de la Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Volume I*, edited by Vera Tiesler Blos, Rafael Cobos and Merle Greene Robertson: 79-100. Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Historia and Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, Mexico and Merida.
- Mayer, Karl Herbert  
 1981 *Classic Maya Relief Columns*. Acoma Books, California.
- 1983 *Gewölbedecksteine mit Dekor der Maya-Kultur*. *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 37: 1-62.
- 1990 *Maya-Wandmalereien in der Puuc-Region (Mexiko)*. *Antike Welt*, 21. Jahrgang: 26-44.
- Pollock, Harry E. D.  
 1980 *The Puuc – An Architectural Survey of the Hill Country of Yucatan and Northern Campeche, Mexico*. *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum No. 19*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Proskouriakoff, Tatiana  
 1974 *Jades from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza, Yucatan*. *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Vol. 10, No.1*, Harvard University.
- Proskouriakoff, Tatiana and John Eric S. Thompson  
 1947 *Maya Calendar Round dates such as 9 Ahau 17 Mol*. *Carnegie Institution of Washington, Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology* 79. Cambridge, Mass.
- Ringle, William M.  
 1990 Who was Who in Ninth-Century Chichen Itza. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1(2): 233-243.
- Ringle, William M. and George J. Bey III  
 2001 *Post-Classic and Terminal Classic Courts of the Northern Maya Lowlands*. In: *Royal Courts of the Ancient Maya*, edited by Takeshi Inomata and Stephen D. Houston, Vol. 2: 266-307. Westview Press, Boulder.
- Ringle, William M., Tomas Gallareta and George Bey III  
 1998 The return of Quetzalcoatl. Evidence for the Spread of a World Religion During the Epiclassic Period. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 9: 183-232.
- Schele, Linda and David Freidel  
 1990 *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya*. William Morrow, New York.
- Schele, Linda, Nikolai Grube and Erik Boot  
 1995 Some Suggestions on the K'atun Prophecies in the Books of Chilam Balam in Light of Classic-period History. *Texas Notes on Precolumbian Art, Writing, and Culture* 72.



- Schele, Linda and Peter Mathews  
1998 The Code of Kings. Charles Scribner, New York.
- Schmidt, Peter J.  
1999 Chichén Itzá: Resultados y proyectos nuevos (1992-1999). *Arqueología Mexicana* VII (37): 32-39.
- Seler, Eduard  
1902-23 *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*. Berlin.  
1917 *Die Ruinen von Uxmal*. *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 3. Berlin.
- Thompson, John Eric S.  
1937 A new method of deciphering Yucatecan dates with special reference to Chichen Itza. Carnegie Institution of Washington Pub. 483. Washington, D.C.
- Tozzer, Alfred M.  
1957 Chichen Itza and Its Cenote of Sacrifice. A Comparative Study of Contemporaneous Maya and Toltec. *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, Vol. XI and XII. Peabody Museum, Cambridge.
- Vargas de la Peña, Leticia and Victor R. Castillo Borges  
1999 Ek Balam: Ciudad que empieza a revelar sus secretos. *Arqueología Mexicana* VII (37): 24-31.  
2001a Hallazgos recientes en Ek Balam. *Mexicon* XXIII (3): 55-56.  
2001b El Mausoleo de Ukit Kan Lek Tok'. In: *Investigadores de la Cultura Maya* 9 (1): 144-150. Universidad Autónoma de Campeche.
- Vargas de la Peña, Leticia, Victor R. Castillo Borges and Alfonso Lacadena  
1999 Textos glíficos de Ek Balam (Yucatán, México): hallazgos de las temporadas 1996-1998. In: *Los Investigadores de la Cultura Maya* 7(1): 172-187. Universidad Autónoma de Campeche, Campeche.  
2001 Murales glíficos del cuarto 2 de la acrópolis de Ek Balam. *La Pintura Mural Prehispánica de México* VII(14): 47-50.
- Voss, Alexander, and Markus Eberl  
1999 Ek Balam: A New Emblem Glyph from the Northeastern Yucatan. *Mexicon* 21: 124-131.  
2001 Los itzaes en Chichen Itza: los datos epigráficos. In: *Los investigadores de la Cultura Maya* 9(1): 152-173. Universidad Autónoma de Campeche, Campeche.
- Voss, Alexander, and Jürgen Kremer  
2000 K'ak'-u-pakal, Hun-pik-tok' and the Kokom: The Political Organization of Chichen Itza. In: *The Sacred and the Profane: Architecture and Identity in the Maya Lowlands*, edited by Pierre R. Colas et al: 149-181. *Acta Mesoamericana* Vol. 10, Verlag Anton Saurwein, Möckmühl.
- Wagner, Elisabeth  
1995 The dates of the High Priest Grave "Osario" inscription. *Mexicon* 18(1): 10-13.  
1996 Personennamen in Chichen Itza. Master's Thesis, University of Bonn.

Wren, Linnea, and Peter Schmidt

1991 Elite interaction during the Terminal Classic period: New evidence from Chichen Itza. In: Classic Maya Political History: Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Evidence, edited by T. Patrick Culbert: 199-225. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Wren, Linnea, Peter Schmidt and Ruth Krochock

1989 The Great Ball Court Stone of Chichen Itza. Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing 25. Center for Maya Research, Washington, D.C.

10.0-0.0-0



## NOTEBOOKS ON MAYA HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

Beginning with the IInd Maya Workshop in 1978, Dr. Linda Schele and, after 1993, her co-presenters, and guest presenters, have prepared a Notebook for each Workshop. After 1998, Schele's successors have continued the tradition. In 1996, the name was changed from Workshop to Forum. These Notebooks not only serve the Workshops, but are also the only published materials documenting year by year the advance of the field of Maya hieroglyphic decipherment. All Notebooks are spiral bound with heavy paper covers. Each is divided into two major sections: an introduction to Maya glyphs and an analysis of glyphic texts. The former section is up-dated periodically to incorporate new discoveries and interpretations. Through the 1988 Workshop, the glyph texts used in the analysis sections were Classic period texts from Palenque, the Maya site at which the longest inscriptions occur. These texts were divided into three groups, one of which was analyzed each year, with relevant updating. Beginning in 1989, Workshops focused on other sites and topics, as elaborated below. The earliest Notebooks are largely of historical interest, the information in them having been superseded by that in later Notebooks, but those still in print are listed here for the convenience of individuals and libraries desiring to obtain as complete a set of Notebooks as possible.

1977-1981: I-Vth Workshops: Out of print

1982: VIth Workshop: \$35. 104 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the Palace Tablet, the Temple XVIII jamba, and the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, at Palenque. By Linda Schele.

1983: VIIth Workshop: \$35. 127 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the 3 panels in the Temple of the Inscriptions, at Palenque. By Linda Schele.

1984: VIIIth Workshop: \$35. 130 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the texts from the Temples of the Cross, Sun, and Foliated Cross at Palenque. By Linda Schele.

1985: IXth Workshop: \$35. 108 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the Palace Tablet, the Temple XVIII jamba, the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, and the Tablet of the Slaves, at Palenque. By Linda Schele.

1986: Xth Workshop: \$35. 129 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the 3 panels in the Temple of the Inscriptions, at Palenque. By L. Schele.

1987: XIth Workshop: \$35. 150 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the texts from the Temples of the Cross, Sun, and Foliated Cross at Palenque. By Linda Schele.

1988: XIIth Workshop: \$35. 113 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the Palace Tablet, the Temple XVIII jamba, the Tablet of the Slaves, and the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, at Palenque. By Linda Schele.

1989: XIIIth Workshop: \$35. 127 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and the texts of Copan. By Linda Schele.

1990: XIVth Workshop: \$35. 174 pages divided roughly equally

between explanatory material and the texts of Tikal. By Linda Schele.

1991: XVth Workshop: \$35. 200 pages, divided between explanatory material and the texts of Yaxchilan. By Linda Schele.

1992: XVIth Workshop: \$35. 259 pages, divided between explanatory material, texts from the Group of the Cross at Palenque, and the 1992 discoveries about Maya creation and cosmology. By Linda Schele.

1993: XVIIth Workshop: \$35. 165 pages, divided between introductory material and the texts and commentary relevant to the Dynastic History of Palenque. By Linda Schele and Peter Mathews.

1994: XVIIIth Workshop: \$40. 165 pages, divided between explanatory material, and images, texts, and commentary relevant to Venus/Tlaloc Warfare and the Peten Wars. By Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube.

1995: XIXth Workshop: \$40. 210 pages, divided between explanatory material, and images, text, and commentary on the last 200 years of Classic Maya history. By Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube.

1996: XXth Forum (= Workshop): \$45. 226 pages, divided between explanatory material, and images, glyph texts, and commentary on Quirigua and Copan: Sibling Rivalry in a Classic Period Kingdom. By Linda Schele and MatthewLooper.

1997: XXIst Forum (= Workshop): \$45. 247 pages, divided between explanatory material, and images, glyphic texts, and commentary on the Dresden Codex. By Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube.

1998: XXIInd Forum (=Workshop):\$45. 173 pages. Deciphering Maya Politics. Divided between explanatory material and glyphic texts and commentary. By Nikolai Grube and Simon Martin.

1999: XXIIIrd Forum(=Workshop): \$45. 174 pages. Language and Linguistic Structure of Ancient Maya Writing & Gods and the Supernatural. Divided between explanatory material and glyphic texts and commentary. By David Stuart, Stephen Houston, and John Robertson.

2000: XXIVth Forum: \$45. 156 Pages. Tikal and Its Neighbors.

Introductory section by Linda Schele. Tikal section by Nikolai Grube and Simon Martin.

2001: XXVth Forum: \$45. 232 pages. Early Classic Maya Glyphs/Epi-Olmec La Mojarra Script. Introductory section by L. Schele, updates by N. Grube. Maya section by N. Grube and S. Martin. Epi-Olmec section by Terrence Kaufman and John Justeson.

2002: XXVIth Forum: \$45. 155 pages. Palenque and Its Neighbors (including Tonina and Comalcalco). Completely rewritten and updated introductory section by Nikolai Grube. Texts and drawings section by Grube, Marc Zender, and Simon Martin.

2003: XXVII Forum. Chichen Itza and It's Neighbors. Introduction to Hieroglyphics by N. Grube. Chichen/Neighbors section by Grube and Alfonso Lacadena. Available after March 20.

Prices include all shipping and handling. Order on the registration form, or from Maya Workshop Foundation, PO Box 3500, Austin Texas 78764-3500. For orders outside the US and Canada, contact the Mesoamerican Heritage Institute, 510 West Forest, Houston, Texas, 77079-6914 USA. Email: mhipkl@netropolis.net.

## FORUM AND WORKSHOP TRANSCRIPTS

Complete transcripts ("Proceedings") of the lectures of Dr. Linda Schele, Peter Mathews, Nikolai Grube, Simon Martin, David Stuart, Stephen Houston, John Robertson, Terrence Kaufman, and John Justeson at the Workshops/Forums on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing at the Maya Meetings at Texas are now available. Beginning with 1996, the name of the event changed from Workshop to Forum. Transcribed and edited by Phil Wanyerka of Southern Illinois University, with the approval and corrections of the presenters, each volume contains the verbatim text of approximately 12 hours of lectures, together with figures, maps, and other useful aids to following the text. Each comes spiral-bound, with cardstock covers. **The Copan lectures** (1989 Workshop): 384 pages, \$45. **The Tikal lectures** (1990 Workshop): 266 pages, indexed, \$40. **The Yaxchilan lectures** (1991 Workshop): 254 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Origins lectures** (1992 "Creation" Workshop): 243 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Palenque lectures** (1993 Workshop): 195 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Star Wars Lectures** (1994 "Venus-Tlaloc Warfare" Workshop): 202 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Terminal Classic lectures** (1995 Workshop): 157 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Quirigua/Copan lectures** (1996 Forum = Workshop): 210 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Dresden Codex lectures** (1997 Forum): 192 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Deciphering Maya Politics Lectures** (1998 Forum): 170 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Mayan Language/Maya Gods lectures** (1999 Forum): 216 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Tikal and Neighbors lectures** (2000 Forum), \$45. **The Early Classic Glyphs/Epi-Olmec La Mojarra Script lectures** (2001 Forum), 224 pages, indexed, \$45. **The Palenque/ Tonina/Comalcalco lectures** (2002 Forum): 119 pages, indexed, \$45. Prices include all shipping and handling. Order from the Maya Workshop Foundation, P.O.Box 3500, Austin TX 78764-3500, or on the registration form.

## THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PALENQUE

Fifteen years is a long time in the fast-moving world of Maya Hieroglyphic decipherment. Gradually, the original translations offered in the **PALENQUE TRIAD** have gotten out of date. And much more has been learned. Using the original format, an **updated and corrected** second edition is now available: together in one volume: the hieroglyphic inscriptions and glyph-by-glyph translations and commentary that appear in the Notebooks of the 1986, 1987, and 1988 Workshops on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing, updated for 1999. Not included are the introductory sections of these Notebooks. The **PALENQUE TRIAD** provides a convenient reference to the major inscriptions at Palenque, including the Palace Tablet, the Tablet of The Slaves, the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, the Temple of the Inscriptions panels, and the texts from the Temples of the Cross, Sun, and Foliated Cross. The volume comes spiral-bound with cardstock covers. \$45, postpaid.

## PIEDRAS NEGRAS DRAWINGS

The Maya city of Piedras Negras, with its exquisite lintels, altars, and stelae, has long been a source of fascination for artist-epigrapher John Montgomery.

For years, with skilled hands and painstaking dedication, John has labored to produce a complete record of the monuments of that beautiful city on the shores of the Usumacinta River. Based on personal observation, augmented by descriptions, drawings, and photos of both early and recent visitors to the site, some 140 drawings have been completed to date.

Many of these accurate, highly-regarded drawings have circulated privately for use in classes and research workshops at the University of Texas, the Maya Meetings at Texas, the Penn Maya Weekend, and elsewhere, allowing John to benefit from comments and suggestions from art-historians and epigraphers in his production of the final versions.

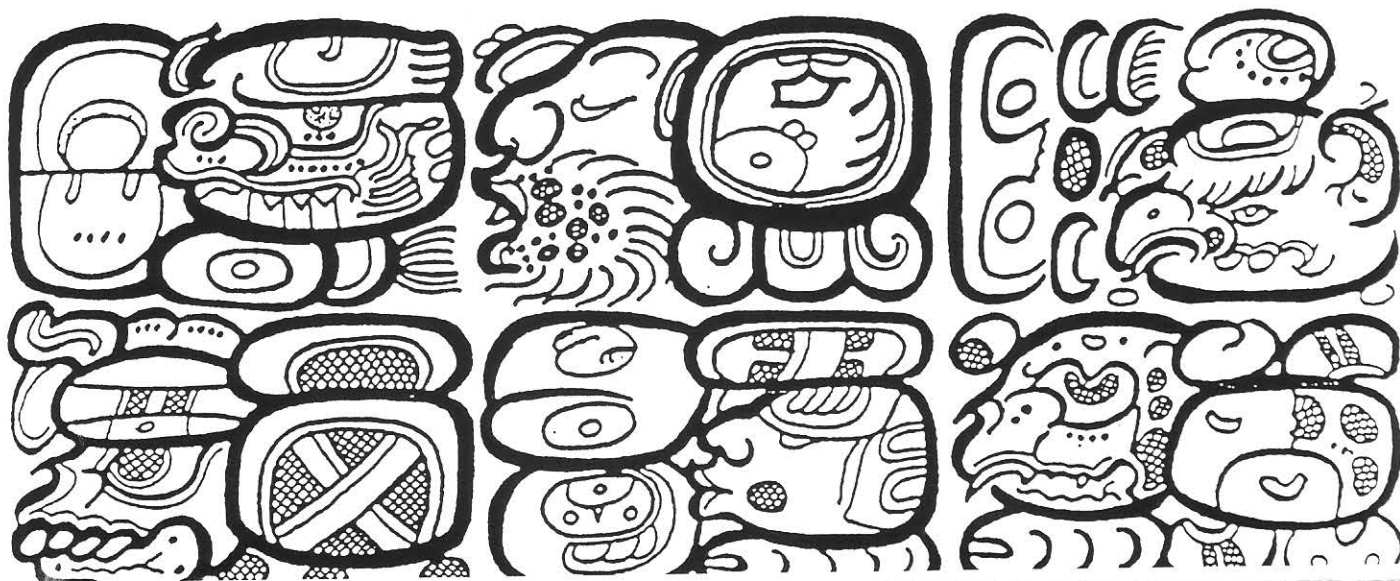
Now, for the first time, the Piedras Negras drawings of John Montgomery are publicly available. Up to the time of printing (Dec, 1993), the very latest completed drawings will be included. Over 140 drawings, together with useful tables, king-lists, and other data-compilations and analyses generated in recent workshops. Spiral bound, with cardstock covers. \$45, postpaid. Available from the Maya Workshop Foundation, P.O. Box 3500, Austin, TX 78764-3500, or order on the registration form.

## MIXTEC NOTEBOOKS

The Mixtec Pictographic Writing Workshop Notebooks bring together information from widely scattered, difficult to locate sources, as well as new insights and analysis. The current year's Notebook for the Workshop will be available at and after the Workshop. The Notebooks are prepared by John Pohl, Director of Mixtec Studies at the Texas Meetings, with contributions by Robert Williams, and others. Dr. Pohl is a Mixtec expert and research archaeologist at UCLA's Fowler Museum. Each volume will contain some introductory material with updates and changes, and a body of material specific to that year's topic. Each comes spiral-bound with card stock covers. The First Notebook, for the 1994 Workshop, covers the Codex Zouche-Nuttall. 134 pages, \$35. 1995 Workshop: Codex Vindobonensis. 144 pages, \$35. 1996 Workshop: Codex Bodley. 176 pages, \$45. 1997 Workshop: Borgia Codex. 90 pages, \$45. 1998 Workshop: Codex Selden. 135 pages, \$45. 1999 Workshop: Codex Columbino-Becker. 138 pages, \$45. 2000 Workshop: the frescoes of Mitla and other postclassic murals. 105 pages, \$45. 2001 Workshop: The Selden Roll. \$45. 2002 Workshop: Narrative Art, Craft Production, and Gift Economy in Postclassic Oaxaca and Related Areas of Mexico. 43 pages, \$45. 2003 Workshop: Codex Nuttall and the Zapotec Genealogy. \$45. Prices include all shipping and handling. Order on the registration form, or from Maya Workshop Foundation, P.O. Box 3500, Austin TX 78764-3500.

### Tablet of the 96 Glyphs Poster

The text of the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs preserves the calligraphic beauty of glyphs written with a brush, and indeed it may have been carved by the same master hand that painted its hieroglyphic text. All its fine qualities of detail and shading have been admirably captured in Linda Schele's drawing of its glyph text, and are faithfully reproduced in a dramatic poster. Individual glyphs are roughly one inch by one-and-one-half inches in size, the entire text area measures over 28 inches in width by more than 12 inches in height. The poster is 35 inches wide and 23 inches high, printed in black ink on heavyweight white semi-glossy poster stock. Truly a masterpiece of Classic Mayan calligraphic art, this beautiful poster is available for just \$25, postage and handling included. The poster comes with a brochure containing a glyph-by-glyph translation of the entire text.





**REGISTRATION FORM for the 2003 MAYA MEETINGS AT TEXAS  
and ORDER FORM for POSTERS AND BOOKS**

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE: \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTRY: \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE: HOME ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ WORK ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ E-MAIL \_\_\_\_\_

TITLE/AFFILIATION: \_\_\_\_\_



**BOOKS AND POSTERS**

|                                                                     |                                          |               |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------|----|
| 2003                                                                | Notebook( free to Forum attendees)       | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 2002                                                                | Notebook for the XXVI Forum              | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 2001                                                                | Notebook for the XXV Forum               | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 2000                                                                | Notebook for the XXIV Forum              | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1999                                                                | Notebook for the XXIII Forum             | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1998                                                                | Notebook for the XXII Forum              | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1997                                                                | Notebook for the XXI Forum               | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1996                                                                | Notebook for the XX Forum                | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1995                                                                | Notebook for the XIX Workshop            | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1994                                                                | Notebook for the XVIII Workshop          | \$40 postpaid | \$ |
| 1993                                                                | Notebook for the XVII Workshop           | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1992                                                                | Notebook for the XVI Workshop            | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1991                                                                | Notebook for the XV Workshop             | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1990                                                                | Notebook for the XIV Workshop            | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1989                                                                | Notebook for the XIII Workshop           | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1988                                                                | Notebook for the XIIth Workshop          | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1987                                                                | Notebook for the XIth Workshop           | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1986                                                                | Notebook for the Xth Workshop            | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1985                                                                | Notebook for the IXth Workshop           | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1984                                                                | Notebook for the VIIIth Workshop         | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1983                                                                | Notebook for the VIIth Workshop          | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1982                                                                | Notebook for the VIth Workshop           | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 2002 Palenque/Neighbors Forum        | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 2001 Early Classic/EpiOlmec Forum    | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 2000 Tikal Forum                     | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1999 Mayan Languages/Maya Gods Forum | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1998 Deciphering Maya Politics Forum | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1997 Dresden Codex Forum             | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1996 Quirigua-Copan Forum            | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1995 Terminal Classic Workshop       | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1994 Star Wars Workshop              | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1993 Palenque Workshop               | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1992 Origins Workshop                | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1991 Yaxchilan Workshop              | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1990 Tikal Workshop                  | \$40 postpaid | \$ |
| TRANSCRIPT                                                          | The 1989 Copan Workshop                  | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| PALENQUE TRIAD: Inscriptions of '86,'87,'88 Notebooks (2nd Edition) |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| PIEDRAS NEGRAS: Drawings of John Montgomery                         |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 2003 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Zapotec)                             |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 2002 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Coixtlahuaca)                        |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 2001 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Selden Roll)                         |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 2000 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Postclassic Frescoes)                |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1999 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Columbino-Becker)                    |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1998 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Selden)                              |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1997 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Borgia)                              |                                          | \$45 postpaid | \$ |
| 1996 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Bodley)                              |                                          | \$40 postpaid | \$ |
| 1995 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Vindo-B)                             |                                          | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| 1994 MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOK (Nuttall)                             |                                          | \$35 postpaid | \$ |
| POSTER: THE TABLET OF THE 96 GLYPHS                                 |                                          | \$25 postpaid | \$ |

TOTAL ENCLOSED FOR BOOKS AND POSTERS \$ \_\_\_\_\_

CONTRIBUTION TOWARD BRINGING MAYA TO THE MAYA MEETINGS \$ \_\_\_\_\_

DONATION IN SUPPORT OF THE MAYA MEETINGS \$ \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL ENCLOSED FOR ALL REGISTRATIONS, BOOKS, AND POSTERS \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Peter Keeler: : Maya Meetings: P. O. Box 3500: Austin, Texas 78764-3500: USA

Payment must accompany orders and registrations and be in U.S. dollars. Prices include postage. MAILING ONLY TO U.S. AND CANADIAN ADDRESSES

For book orders in Europe, contact Mesoamerican Heritage Institute, mhiplk@netropolis.net or 510 West Forest, Houston TX 77079-6914

For the Meetings, non-U.S. residents only may register by mail but should pay UPON ARRIVAL.

Make checks payable to Maya Workshop Foundation. Sorry, no credit cards and no faxes



